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THREE
HISTORICAL ADDRESSES
AT
GROTON, MASSACHUSETTS

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1931

THREE HISTORICAL ADDRESSES

AT
GROTON, MASSACHUSETTS

BY
SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN

h.c.

With an Appendix

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1908.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
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TO
THE MEMORY
OF
GEORGE SEWALL BOUTWELL

JANUARY 28, 1818—FEBRUARY 27, 1905

WHO ALWAYS TOOK AN ACTIVE PART IN WHATEVER
CONCERNED THE WELFARE OF
THE TOWN



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P R E F A C E

THESE several addresses were delivered on different occasions by request of the town, and were published originally in pamphlet form. As they have long been out of print, they are now brought together and republished in a volume for the greater convenience of those who take an interest in the town. The titlepages have been somewhat shortened, but the several inscriptions or dedications have been allowed to remain. The Address of July Fourth, 1876, was given in the First Parish Meeting-house; and the other two Addresses were made in the Town Hall.

The Archives, often quoted as authority for statements in the text, are the Massachusetts Archives found at the State House.

MARCH 16, 1908

CONTENTS

	PAGES
AN HISTORICAL ADDRESS, Bi-centennial and Centennial, July 4, 1876	11-63
AN HISTORICAL ADDRESS at the Dedication of Three Monuments erected by the Town, February 20, 1880	65-113
AN HISTORICAL ADDRESS on the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of the Town, July 12, 1905	115-159
APPENDIX : The Name of Groton, by Dr. Edward Mussey Hartwell; List of Indian Words; List of Towns; Distinguished Citizens; English Oaks; Town Seal; First Parish Meeting-House	161-172
INDEX	173-181

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGES
Petition for the Plantation, 1655	16, 17
Stamp and Counter-stamp issued under the Act of 1765	52
"Useful Instructions," etc., Cambridge, 1673, by Samuel Willard (Titlepage and Preface)	82, 83
Town Seal	171
First Parish Meeting-House	172

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AN
HISTORICAL ADDRESS

BI-CENTENNIAL AND CENTENNIAL

JULY 4, 1876

—
GROTON BURNED BY THE INDIANS, 1676.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, 1776.
—

TO

The Inhabitants of Groton

AND TO

THE NATIVES OF THE TOWN LIVING ELSEWHERE

THIS ADDRESS

A WILLING TASK, IMPERFECTLY DONE, IS RESPECTFULLY

INSCRIBED BY THE WRITER.

HISTORICAL ADDRESS

THE first century of our national existence is completed this day, and we meet to commemorate the event. One hundred years have passed away since the Declaration of Independence was affirmed and a nation was born that is destined to flourish as long as piety, religion, and morality shall prevail in the land, and no longer. Modern times have been full of great deeds; but none of them is greater than that which declared the American colonies to be free, and put them in the rank of independent nations. The rapid development of the United States during this hundred years has been watched by thoughtful men throughout the world, — by some with jealousy, by others with sympathy; and their success has made them an example for other countries to follow. They have stood the test of a century; and to-day, throughout the land, the great birthday of the nation is commemorated with joy and exultation never before equalled.

The question may recur, Why is this notice taken of a century? Why is a celebration more fitting now than next year or last year? It is because there is a tendency in the human mind to divide time into round periods. At the end of a century comes a stopping-place, — a broad stair in the flight of time, — from which to look back upon any event that marked its beginning. In our decimal notation the number *Ten* plays an important part, and is a kind of unit. Originally connected in meaning with the fingers of the hand, a hundred, in its primitive signification as well as numerically ten tens, is a large unit, — a natural division of duration. If man had been endowed originally by Nature with six fingers on each hand, we should now have a duodecimal system of numbers instead of a decimal system; and it would seem just as easy and natural. This

tendency in the human mind is strikingly illustrated by the last census returns of the city of Boston. The number of its inhabitants who gave their ages as just forty-five is more than twice as large as the number of those who were just forty-four or just forty-six. The number of those who were just fifty is more than three times as great as the number of those who were just forty-nine, and about five times as many as the number of those who were just fifty-one. According to these returns, there are nearly twice as many persons who are fifty-five as either fifty-four or fifty-six; and there are four times as many who are sixty as either fifty-nine or sixty-one. The tens have a stronger attraction than the fives, and these, in their turn, than the other numbers. This example, beside showing the untrustworthy character, in some respects, of the census returns, — a point not now to my purpose, — shows how widely pervading is the feeling about round periods; and in this universal feeling is found the answer to the question why we have a celebration at this time.

The present year has also a bi-centennial anniversary that brings us together. It was in the year 1676 that this town was destroyed by the Indians, and the inhabitants, with all their available effects, were forced to leave it. A contemporary account of the removal says that there were sixty carts required for the work, and that they extended along the road for more than two miles. It was a sorry sight to see this little community leaving their homes, which they had first established twenty-one years before. What bitter pangs they must have felt, and how dark their future must have seemed, as they turned to look for the last time upon familiar places, — their rude but cherished homes, their humble meeting-house, in ashes, and the graves of their kindred whom they had laid away tenderly in God's acre. As they made their way along the rough and muddy roads, the hearts of all were heavy with grief; and the mothers' eyes were dimmed with tears, as the thought of blighted prospects filled their minds, for no one could foresee the end of their misfortunes. Their bitter experiences, how-

ever, affected more than one generation. Fortitude is the logical result of hardships: brave parents will breed brave children. Our fathers little thought that these trials were making them the ancestry of a strong people, who themselves, a century later, were to contend successfully against the strongest power in the world. At this late day we cannot know all their sufferings, but we do know that they were a God-fearing community; and on this occasion it is fitting that we should celebrate their virtues. They were a plain folk, with homely traits; and their best memorial is the simple story of their lives. For this reason I purpose to give an unadorned narration of some of the more important events with which they were connected from the very beginning of the town, together with a brief account of some of the actors, bringing the account down through the last century, and touching lightly upon the present one.

In the spring of the year 1655, the township of Groton was granted by the General Court to a number of petitioners. It was situated on the frontiers, fourteen miles from the nearest settlement; and at that time there were but nine other towns in Middlesex County. What inducements were held out to gain settlers for the new town, it is impossible now to ascertain. Probably, however, the country in this neighborhood had been reconnoitred by adventurous men from other settlements; and it is likely that such persons had followed the Indian trails, and penetrated to what then seemed a long distance into the wilderness. These persons knew the rivers and the hills, and the lay of the land generally; and, after coming home, they talked about the good farming region. It would take but a short time thus to establish traditions that might draw a few families to desirable places. It happened then, as it sometimes happens now, that large fires had run through the woods in dry weather, and had burned until they were put out by some rain-storm, leaving a track of black desolation that would last for many a year. And, moreover, there were small patches that had been planted by the Indians with corn, beans, and squashes, and therefore ready for cultivation by whosoever should take possession of

them. In this way a few places had been more or less cleared; and the wild grasses had caught-in sufficiently to furnish fodder for the cattle. This last consideration was a matter of much importance to the settlers. In planting towns, it undoubtedly weighed with them in selecting the sites. In fact, it is recorded that, during some of those early years, feed was so scarce that the cattle had to be slaughtered to save them from death by hunger. It should be borne in mind that grass then was not cultivated as it is now; nor was it for more than a century after this period. In the winter cattle had to be kept on corn-stalks and the native grasses, which the settlers had gathered wherever they could; and it required rigid economy, even on these, to keep them till spring.

It was amid such and other difficulties that our fathers founded their settlements. Prompted by interest or enterprise, families would plant themselves in the wilderness and make new homes away from neighbors and far from friends. As these settlements increased in numbers, they were constituted towns without much formality. The only Act of Incorporation of Boston, Dorchester, and Watertown was an order of the General Court "that Trimountaine shalbe called Boston; Mattapan, Dorchester; & the towne vpon Charles Ryver, Waterton."

Towns thus informally established have grown up with certain rights and privileges as well as duties and obligations, and have developed into fixed municipal corporations, as we find them to-day. They did not spring into existence full grown and clothed, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter, but they have been creatures of slow growth. They should be compared rather to the old homestead that has been receiving additions and improvements during several generations, in order to accommodate the increasing and constantly changing family, until finally the humble house has expanded into a roomy structure.

The prominent idea in the minds of the founders of New England appears to have been the support of the gospel ministry. After this came the management of their political affairs and the support of free schools. Captain Edward

Johnson, in his quaint and instructive book, "Wonder-Working Providence of Sions Saviour, in New-England," says that it was "as unnatural for a right *N. E.* man to live without an able Ministry, as for a Smith to work his iron without a fire; therefore this people that went about placing down a Town, began the foundation-stone, with earnest seeking of the Lord's assistance, by humbling of their souls before him in daies of prayer" (p. 177). The College, which was established so early in the history of the colony, was dedicated "to Christ and the Church"; and down to the present time this motto is kept on the College-seal.

Mr. Butler, in his History, says that "The original petition for the plantation or town of Groton, is not found, or any record of it" (p. 11). Since this statement was made, however, one of the petitions — for it seems there were two — has been found among the papers of the late Captain Samuel Shepley, by Charles Woolley, formerly of this town, but now of Waltham. A copy of it was printed in "The New England Historical and Genealogical Register" (xiv. 48) for January, 1860, and is as follows: —

To the honored Generall Courte assembled at Boston the humble
petion of vs whose names ar here under written humbly shoeth

That where as youre petioners by a prouidence of God haue
beene brought ouer in to this widernes and liued longe here in:
and being sumthing straightned for that where by subsistance in
an ordinarie waie of Gods prouidence is to be had and Con-
sidering the a lowance that God giues to the sones of men for
such an ende: youre petioners request therefore is that you
would be pleased to grant vs a place for a plantation vpon the
Riuer that runes from Nashaway in to merimake at a place
or a boutte a place Caled petaupauket and waubansconcett and
youre petioners shall pray for youre happy proseedings

WILLĪM MARTIN
RICHARD BLOOD
JOHN WITT
WILLĪM LAKIN
RICHARD HAUEN

TIMOTHY COOPER
JOHN LAKIN
JOHN BLOOD
MATHU FARRINGTON
ROBERT BLOOD

To the honored Generall Court-assembled at
Boston the humble petition of us whose names
are hereunder written jointly & severally

That whereas at your petition by a providence
of god have bene brought over in to this jurisdiction
and liue longer here in: and being further
straightned for that right by assistance in
an ordinarie way of gods providence it to be
had and considering the a learner that god
gives to the favor of men for his an order:
your petitioners request your favor is that you
would be pleased to grant us a place for a
plantation upon the River that runs from
Nashawit in to Norwiche at a place or a
bout a place called potax-pusket and
maubauk-cummet and your petitioners will
pray for your happy prospering

William Martin
Richard Blood
John Will
William Lakin
Ezra Landon
Timothy Cooper
John Lakin
John Blood
Mather Livingston
Robert Allen

M^r Jn^o Tinker M^r Tho: Hinckly Dolor Davis W^m Martin Mathew Farrington John Witt and Timothy Couper are Appointed the selectmen for the sajd Toune of Groaten for one two yeares from the time it is lajd out, to lay out and dispose of particular lotts not exceeding twenty acres to each house lott; And to order the prudentiall affaires of the place at the end of which tyme other selectmen shall be chosen and Appointed in their roomes. the selectmen of Groaten giving M^r Danforth such satisfaction for his service & paines as they & he shall agree;

The magist^s haue past this wth reference to the Consent of their bretheren the deput^s hereto

25 May 1655

EDWARD RAWSON Secrety

The Deputies Consent hereto

WILLIAM TORREY Cleric.

A religious temper pervades the whole petition, which in its language has the flavor of the Old Testament. It speaks of their having been brought over "by a providence of God," and of their living long in the wilderness. In answer to it, the Court grants a tract of land to make "a Comfortable plantacoñ," and provides for its survey and prompt location; naming as the chief end the "speedy procuring of a godly minister amongst them," and foreshadowing in its action some of the features of the modern Homestead Acts of Congress. From these expressions we may learn the guiding thoughts of the first settlers of the town; and it is now a pious duty we owe them to commemorate their virtues and their deeds. They were men and women in every way worthy of all the respect and honor we can pay them; and I congratulate those of my audience who trace back their family line to that stock. The names of Parker, Prescott, and Blood, of whom there are so many descendants still among us; of Farnsworth, Lawrence, and Shattuck, names not to be omitted in any historical record of the town; of Gilson, Nutting, and Sawtell, worthy forefathers of worthy progeny; of Stone, Moors, and Tarbell, — all these are familiar to you as the names of citizens descended from the founders of the town;

and there are other names equally worthy to be mentioned, that will readily suggest themselves.

Mr. Deane Winthrop, whose name stands at the head of the list of selectmen appointed by the Court, was a son of Governor John Winthrop; and it is to him that we are indebted for the name of the town. A native of Groton in Old England, it was natural for him to wish to keep the name fresh and fragrant on this side of the Atlantic. Groton, in Connecticut, — younger by half a century, and famous as the scene of the heroic Ledyard's death, — owes its name to the same family. Groton, in New York, was settled, in part, by families from this town. New Hampshire and Vermont both have towns named Groton, though they are of comparatively recent origin. Why they were so called I have been unable to find out, unless it was that the fair fame and reputation of the one in Massachusetts had made the name auspicious.

There was a place in Roxbury, a hundred and thirty years ago, that was sometimes called Groton.* It was a corruption of Greateon, the name of the man who kept the "Grey Hound" tavern in the neighborhood.

The word Groton, the same as the Grotena of Domesday Book, probably means Grit-town, or Sand-town, — from the Anglo-Saxon, *groot*, grit, sand, dust; and *tun*, village or town. The locality of the English Groton is in fact a sandy one. A proper pride of birth would suggest that the name was doubtless also appropriate by reason of the GRIT or pluck, now as well as then, characteristic of the people of any town so named.

Groton, in Suffolk, England, is an ancient place, — there being a record in Domesday Book of its population and wealth, in some detail, at the time of William the Conqueror, and also before him, under the Anglo-Saxon King, Edward the Confessor. A literal translation of this census return of seven hundred and ninety years ago is as follows: —

* New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxiv. 56 note, 60.

In the time of King Edward * Saint Edmund held Groton for a manor, one carucate † and a half of land. Always [there were] 8 villeins and 5 bordarii [a rather higher sort of serfs; cotters]. Always [there was] 1 plough in demesne. Always 2 ploughs of homagers [tenants] and 1 acre of meadow. A mill, for winter. Always 1 work-horse and 7 cattle and 16 swine and 30 sheep and 2 free men of half a carucate of land and they could give and sell their land. Seven bordarii. Always 1 plough & 1 acre of meadow [belonging to these 7 bordarii.] Then [i. e., under King Edward] it was worth 30 shillings, and now 40. It has in length 7 furlongs and 4 in breadth. In the same, 12 free men and they have 1 carucate and it is worth 20 shillings. All these could give and sell their land in the time of King Edward. Saint Edmond has the soc, protection and servitude [i. e., the lord's legal rights]. 7 pence of gelt [i. e., Dane-geld], but others hold there.

Such were the census returns, made nearly eight hundred years ago, of the place from which our good old name is taken, and which on that account will always be of interest to us.

It is curious to note the different ways which our fathers had of spelling the name; and the same persons took little or no care to write it uniformly. In those days they paid scarcely any attention to what is now regarded as an important branch of education. Among the documents and papers that I have had occasion to consult and use in the preparation of this address, I find the word spelled in twenty-three different ways; viz., Groton, Grotton, Groten, Grotten, Grotin, Groatne, Groaton, Groatton, Groaten, Grooton, Grorton, Grotonne, Grouten, Grouton, Grauton, Grautten, Grawten, Grawton, Growtin, Growton, Groyton, Groughton, and Croaton.

* Some idea of the condensed character of the entries in Domesday Book may be gathered from the following transcript of the Latin beginning of the account of Groton, in which the matter within the brackets is what the Norman scrivener omitted: "Grotena[m] t[empore] r[egis] E[dvardi] ten[uit] S[anctus] e[dmundus] p[ro] man[erio]," etc.

† The carucate was a "plough land," and is variously set at from twelve to one hundred acres.

Dictionaries of our language were hardly known at that time and there was no standard for spelling; and it seems as if every one spelled according to his own feelings at the moment. In many cases the odder the form, the better. As an instance of orthographic license then prevalent, it is said that there are sixty-five different modes in which the name of Shakespeare was written.

Yonder river, familiar to us as the Nashua, is spoken of in a record by Thomas Noyes, in 1659, as the Groaten River, and is called so more than once. While this would have gratified our local pride, I am not sorry that the name *Nashua* was finally kept. It is to be regretted that so few of the Indian words have been retained by us to designate the rivers and the hills and other localities. However much such words may have been twisted and distorted by English pronunciation and misapplication, they furnish us now with one of the few links that connect us with prehistoric times in America. The word *Nashua*,* in its fulness and before it was clipped, meant *the land between*, and referred to the tract on which Lancaster was settled, because it was *between* the branches of the river; the name, however, was afterward transferred from the territory to the river itself.

Among the earliest papers at the State House, relating to the town, is a request for a brandmark. Joseph Parker represents to the Governor and Magistrates, in a writing dated May 31, 1666, that he has been chosen constable, and asks that the letters G_R — or monogram, as we should call it — be recorded as the brandmark of the town. This was wanted probably for marking cattle. "In answer to this motion the Deputies approue of th^e letters: G_R to be the brand marke of groaten." (Archives, i. 21.)

Very soon after the settlement of the town, there was a complaint of improper management on the part of the proprietors, and the General Court appointed a committee to look into the matter. This committee visited the place, and reported on "the entanglements that have obstructed the

* Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, ii. 33.

planting thereof," giving at the same time their opinion that there was land enough here to furnish subsistence by husbandry to sixty families. When we consider that this opinion was the result of deliberate calculation, on the part of disinterested men, before the town was shorn of its original dimensions, it shows the vanity of human prophecy, and should serve as a warning to us all to abstain from prediction in regard to a century hence. There are now nearly ten thousand persons in the territory of the original Groton Plantation, living mainly by the products of the land.

For some years before the destruction of the town the Indians began to threaten the inhabitants. They were troublesome neighbors at best, and their movements required careful watching. Some of them were friendly, but others were hostile and treacherous. They had already acquired the taste for strong drink, and, on more than one occasion, drunken brawls and fights, which ended in murder, had taken place between them and the settlers. In May, 1668, Captain Richard Waldron built a trucking or trading house at Penacook, now Concord, New Hampshire, where a few weeks afterward Thomas Dickinson was murdered by an Indian; and "rum did it." The affair created great excitement, and it has been supposed that the brawl prevented a settlement of the place at that time; at any rate, none was made until 1726. A warrant was issued to the constable of Groton to summon John Page, Thomas Tarbell, Jr., Joseph Blood, and Robert Parish, all of this town, to appear before the General Court at Boston to give their testimony, which they did under oath. It appeared from the evidence that there had been a drunken row, and that Tohaunto, the chief, desired them, if they had brought any liquor, to pour it on the ground; for, said he, it will make the Indians "all one Divill." From this it would seem that rum in those days was about the same as it is now, — no better and no worse, — for it still makes people all one devil. (Archives, xxx. 155, 157, 161.)

Many of the Indians had now been supplied with fire-

arms, which made them bold and insolent, and it is not strange that the natural tendency of events should have been toward open hostilities. We can readily understand how the fears of the colonists were excited when they thought of their own helpless families and their exposed situation. It betokened no cowardice to entertain this feeling, and it was the part of wisdom to prepare for the worst. At an early day there was a military organization in the town, and we find the following order in the printed Records of Massachusetts, passed October 15, 1673:—

The millitary company of Groaten being distitut of military officers, the Court judgeth it meet to choose & appoint James Parker to be theire capitaine, W^m Lakin to be leiftennant, & Nathaniel Lawrence to be their ensigne.

The thunder of the distant storm now began to be heard, and the colonists were asking for protection. They little thought that the lightning was to strike so soon and with such fatal violence; but in the providence of God it was thus ordained.

Captain Parker writes to Governor Leverett, under date of August 25, 1675, that the inhabitants “are in a very great strait,” and “are very much discouraged in their spirits”; that they want ammunition and twenty good muskets for their pike men. The letter itself, with the quaint expressions of two centuries ago, will give you a better idea of their narrow circumstances than any extracts from it; so I read it entire:—

To the honoured John Leueret Esquir Gouvernour of the Massechusets Collony ar

Honoured Sir with the rest of your counsell I hau made bold to enform your worships how the case stand with vs that the Indians are aproach^s near to vs our scouts hau discouerd seuerall tracks very near the habitable parts of the town and one Indian they discouered but escapt from them by Skulking amongst the bushes and som of the Inhabitants of our town haue heard them in the night singing and halloeing. which doe determin to vs their great height of Insolency: we are in a

very great strait here. our Inhabitants are very much discouraged in their spirits and thereby disabled from their callings I have received 20 men from the worshipfull Major Wellard and Captain Mossells men to help secure our town, but notwithstanding we are in a very weak capacity to defend ourselves against the Insolency and potency of the enemy if they should appear in number and with that violence that they did appear at Quabog [Brookfield] the which the good lord forbid if it be his good pleasure, much honoured and respected the good lord be with you In your consultations that you may understand what to do for your new england Israel at such a time as this and in particular ourselves and for our dear neighbours at Lancaster upon whom the enemy have made an Inroad 6 persons are already found and buried the 7th which they do expect is killed is not as yet found you may be pleased to take notice that we shall want ammunition speedily by reason that we have parted with some to Cap^t Mosselles men and some we spent in the fight at Quabog as also I have supplied the soldiers with ammunition that were sent to me that was Employed in the service they having spent their ammunition If you could help us with 20 good muskets for our pikemen and I will return them again or else give a valuable price for them in such pay as we can produce among ourselves not else at present but leave you to the guidance of the God of heaven who is the only wise counsellor and remaine y.

Your servant to command in any service to my power

JAMES PARKER Cap^t

from Groton

August 25 75

(Archives, lxxvii. 244.)

A few days before the date of this letter, Captain Samuel Moseley writes "from Nashowah Allies Lankester: 16th Aug^t 1675," that, in accordance with instructions from Major-General Denison, he had sent "to Groatton: 12: men."

In those days there was no physician in town to offer his professional skill to the government in its time of need; and it was necessary to impress into the public service a surgeon, as well as a horse and accoutrements, as we find from the following order addressed —

TO THE CONSTABLE OF BOSTON.

These Require you in his Maj^{ty}s name forthwith to Impresse M^r W^m Haukins Chirurgeon: Imediately to prepare himself wth materials as Chirurgeon & to dispatch to Marlboro. to Cap^t Mosely & attend his motion & souldiers at Groaten. or elsewhere: for wch End you are also to Impresse an able horse & furniture for him to Goe: wth the Post

dated at Boston 17 August^t 1675 making Return hereof to the Secret^y

By y^e Council

(Archives, lxvii. 239, 241, 252.) EDW. RAWSON Secret^y

And the constable made the indorsement on the order that Dr. Hawkins had been duly warned.

At this time Philip's War had begun, and open hostilities had alarmed the inhabitants of the town. The Council passed an order, September 8, 1675, that Cornet Thomas Brattle and Lieutenant Thomas Henchman should take fifty men, of which thirty were to come from Norfolk and twenty from Middlesex, and place them in the garrisons of Dunstable, Groton, and Lancaster, in such proportions as they should deem expedient. They were to place them "vnder the comānd of the cheefe military officers of each towne: giueing those officers direction: to joyne & lyst other meet persons of their owne companyes with them, & order them euery day to surraund the townes y^ey are to secure; & if they can to carry doggs with y^m to search for & discouer any enemy that may aproch nere such towne & at night to repaire vnto such corps du gaurd, as are appointed to them for the security of the s^d place." (Archives, lxvii. 252.)

About this time the question of withdrawing a considerable force from the garrisons seems to have been considered; but a protest against such action was drawn up and signed by Simon Willard and three others, who were probably the officers in command. From the representation they made, it is not likely that any troops were taken away.

In the autumn (October 27) of this year, the town was assessed £11 10s. as her rate to carry on the war; and, when paid in money, one-quarter to be abated.

The coming winter must have been a hard one for the colonists, not only here but elsewhere throughout New England. The Indians had burned some towns and threatened others, and it was a season of distrust and despair. The time was rapidly approaching for Groton to suffer; and soon the stroke came. The inhabitants would have been more than human if they had not felt despondent at the hard fate that had now befallen them. They had seen their houses and barns burned, and all the results of their labor and thrift destroyed in a day. The little meeting-house, rudely constructed but no less dear to them, was now a heap of ashes. To-day its very site is unknown. Some words of consolation, and exhortation to trust in the providence of God, fell from the lips of their good pastor, Mr. Willard, as they looked tearfully on their ruined homes. He had been their guide and teacher during thirteen years; and much that is interesting is known about him.

Samuel Willard was born at Concord, on January 31, 1639-40. He was the second son of Major Simon Willard, late in life an inhabitant of this town, and he graduated at Harvard College in the Class of 1659, being the only member of the class who took his second degree. He came here to succeed Mr. John Miller, the first minister of the town, who died on June 12, 1663. Mr. Willard began to preach probably early in 1663. In that year, on the twenty-first of some month, — conjectured to be June, the words of the records being so worn as to be illegible, — it was voted "that M^r. Willard if he accept of it shall be their minester as long as he liues." Against this action there were five dissentient votes, which number constituted probably a fourth part of all the voters; and they certainly were among the principal and most influential inhabitants of the town. Mr. Willard must have been a man of a good deal of character to have been settled in spite of this opposition, but he seems to have lived it down very successfully. His relations with the people were always harmonious; and his salary was gradually increased until it was double the original amount. The first year of his ministry, it was fixed at forty pounds; the

second year, at fifty pounds; the third and several successive years, at sixty pounds; and finally at eighty, part of it being in country pay. This was the old expression for paying in produce. And when the salary was voted, on October 14, 1672, it was reckoned at five shillings a bushell for wheat; four shillings for rye, barley, and peas; with pork and beef at threepence a pound; "and all such as cannot pay his third part of his pay in english corn and prouision they shall pay In Indian corn at 2 shill p bushell and the remainder of his pay In Indian Corn at 3 shill p bushell his fire wood also aboue his eighty pound. And further these persons here set downe [Sergeant Parker and eleven others] doe promise and Ingage to git Mr. Willard hay mowing making and fetchling home for eight shilling p load at a seasonable time (viz.) in the midle of July."

In his day Mr. Willard was a scholar and writer of considerable note, and even now would be considered such. But little is known of his early life; and no church record during his ministry in Groton is extant. Coming here in the vigor of young manhood, at the age of twenty-three, — if we may judge him from the high position he afterward attained, — it is fair to assume that he exerted a strong influence in this neighborhood. It is probable that his early experiences here fitted him for the places of honor and dignity which he was subsequently called upon to fill. A few weeks after his settlement, he married Abigail Sherman, a daughter of the Reverend John Sherman, of Watertown; and, after her death, he married, as his second wife, Eunice, daughter of Edward Tyng. He had a large family of children, of whom five were born in this town. One of his great-grandsons, Robert Treat Paine, was a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

In the year 1673 Mr. Willard published a volume of sermons entitled "Useful Instructions for a professing People in Times of great Security and Degeneracy: delivered in several Sermons on Solemn Occasions."

It consists of three sermons, of which one was preached, probably in the winter of 1671-2, on the occasion of a

case of witchcraft that I shall mention shortly. It is evident, from a reference in the sermon, that the fame or notoriety of the case had spread far from this town. Mr. Willard says: "There is a voice in it to the whole Land, but in a more especial manner to poor *Groton*; it is not a Judgement afar off, but it is near us, yea among us."

The book is inscribed, "To his Beloved Friends the Inhabitants of Groton." Like all the publications of that time, it is purely theological, and contains nothing now of particular interest. If he had given us even a few lines of town history, it would be now almost invaluable. We look in vain through its pages for anything that throws light on the manners and customs of the early settlers. We do find, however, the modes and habits of thought that were prevalent in those days; and with these we must be content, for the sermons furnish nothing more.

In the year 1671 there occurred here a case of so-called witchcraft, to which Mr. Willard gave much time and thought. He wrote a very long letter (Collections, fourth series, viii. 555) to Cotton Mather, describing the minutest details in regard to the case, and Dr. Mather refers to it in his "*Magnalia Christi Americana*." (Book vi. chapter 7, page 67.) The victim of the witchcraft was one Elizabeth Knap, who had the long train of symptoms which then were usually ascribed to the personal influence of the Evil One, but which nowadays would constitute a well-marked case of hysteria. From an expression in Mr. Willard's letter, we learn that the girl went to school in his house, from which fact we infer that the minister of the town was also a teacher of the children. At one time on Sundays his dwelling was used as a meeting-house, and at other times as a schoolhouse. Its exact locality is not known to us, though it was in the present Main Street, near the site of the High School building. From another expression in the letter, we learn there was "a great meadow neere the house," which could be seen from one of the windows in a lower room, undoubtedly referring to Broad Meadow.

The assault by the Indians on the town was followed by the breaking up of the place and the scattering of its inhabitants. Mr. Willard never returned to his pastorate. Soon afterward he was installed over the Old South Church in Boston, as the colleague of the Reverend Thomas Thacher. In the year 1701 he was chosen Vice-President of Harvard College, which office he filled till his death, at the same time performing the duties of minister of the Old South. His connection with the College was really that of President, although he was called the Vice-President. The distinction was nominal rather than real. The President was obliged by the rules to live at Cambridge, and this he was unwilling to do; so he acted as such without the title.

As minister of the Old South, Mr. Willard baptized Benjamin Franklin. The young philosopher was born in Milk Street, directly opposite to the meeting-house, whither he was taken to receive the sacrament of baptism while yet his earthly pilgrimage was limited to a few hours of time.

Mr. Willard's health began to fail, as he approached his threescore years and ten, the period of life allotted by the Psalmist, and he presided for the last time at the College Commencement, in July, 1707. In August, the Governor and Council were notified that he was not capable of doing the work at Cambridge for another year. He died on September 12, 1707.

Dr. Ebenezer Pemberton, in his funeral sermon, says of him that, "At *first* in his younger Years, his Master committed to his Pastoral Care a Flock in a more obscure part of this Wilderness: But so great a Light was soon observed thro' the whole Land: And his Lord did not design to bury him in obscurity, but to place him in a more Eminent station which he was qualified for" (p. 70).

Several printed accounts of Philip's War appeared very soon after it was ended; and these furnish nearly all that is known in regard to it. In those days there was no special correspondent on the spot to get the news; and, as the facilities for intercommunication were limited, these ac-

counts differ somewhat in the details, but, taken as a whole, they are fairly accurate.

It is recorded in the inventory of his estate on file in the Middlesex Probate Office at East Cambridge that Timothy Cooper, of Groton, was "Sleine by the Indians the Second of march 1675-6." Cooper was an Englishman by birth and lived, probably, somewhere between the present site of the Baptist Meeting-house and the northerly end of Farmers' Row. It is not known that there was other loss of life in the assault of March 2, but the affair was serious enough to alarm the inhabitants. On March 9 the savages again threatened the beleaguered town, and again for the third time on March 13, when by a cunningly contrived ambush they managed to entrap four men at work, of whom one man was killed and one captured, while the other two men escaped. Without much doubt John Nutting was the one killed. During these three assaults so many houses and barns were burned that the inhabitants were left thoroughly disabled and without means of living. The alternative now was to abandon the place, which soon followed.

The loss of life or limb sustained by the English during these attacks, fortunately, was not large. So far as is now known, only two persons were killed and two wounded. It is recorded, however, that John Morse, the town-clerk, was carried off; but he did not remain long a prisoner. Within a few months of his capture, he was ransomed by Mr. John Hubbard, of Boston, who paid about five pounds for his release. This sum was soon afterward reimbursed to Mr. Hubbard by a vote of the Council. (Archives, lxix. 48.)

These contemporary accounts of the assault on the town are all short, with the exception of Hubbard's; and I purpose to give them, in the words of the writers, for what they are worth. The first is from "A Brief History of the Warr With the Indians in New-England," by Increase Mather, published in the year 1676. This account — probably the earliest in print — is as follows: —

March the 10th. Mischief was done, and several lives cut off by the *Indians* this day, at *Groton* and at *Sudbury*. An humbling Providence, inasmuch as many Churches were this day Fasting and Praying (p. 23).

March 13. The *Indians* assaulted *Groton*, and left but few houses standing. So that this day also another Candlestick was removed out of its place. One of the first houses that the Enemy destroyed in this place was the *House of God, h.c.* which was built, and set apart for the celebration of the publick Worship of God.

When they had done that, they scoffed and blasphemed, and came to Mr. *Willard* (the worthy Pastor of the Church there) his house (which being Fortified, they attempted not to destroy it) and tauntingly, said, *What will you do for a house to pray in now we have burnt your Meeting-house?* Thus hath the Enemy done wickedly in the Sanctuary, they have burnt up the Synagogues of God in the Land; they have cast fire into the Sanctuary; they have cast down the dwelling place of his name to the Ground. *O God, how long shall the Adversary reproach? shall the Enemy Blaspheme thy Name for ever? why withdrawest thou thine hand, even thy right hand? pluck it out of thy bosome* (p. 24).

Several accounts of the war appeared in London in 1676, only a few months after the destruction of this town. They were written in New England, and sent to Old England, where they were at once published in thin pamphlets. The authors are now unknown, and they undoubtedly gathered their matter from hearsay. At that time Indian affairs in New England attracted a good deal of attention in the mother country. One of these pamphlets is entitled "A True Account of the most Considerable Occurrences that have hapned in the Warre between the English and the Indians in New England," "as it hath been communicated by Letters to a Friend in London."

This account says that —

On the 13th of *March*, before our Forces could return towards our Parts, the *Indians* sent a strong Party, and assaulted the Town of *Groton* about forty Miles North-west from *Boston*, and burn'd all the deserted Houses: the Gar-

rison'd Houses, which were about ten, all escaped but one, which they carryed, but not the *English* in it; for there was but one slain and two wounded (p. 2).

Another account, entitled "A New and Further Narration of the State of New England, being a continued account of the Bloody Indian-war," gives the following version: —

The 14th of March, the savage Enemy set upon a considerable Town called *Groughton*, and burnt Major *Wilberds* House first (who with his Family removed to *Charls Town*) and afterwards destroyed sixty-five Dwelling-houses more there, leaving but six Houses standing in the whole Town, which they likewise furiously attempted to set on Fire; But being fortified with Arms and Men as Garrisons, they with their Shot, killed several of the Enemy, and prevented so much of their Design; Nor do we hear that any Person on our Side was here either slain or taken Captive (p. 4).

A few pages further on, it says that "*Grantham* and *Nashaway* all ruined but one House or two" (p. 14). Few persons would recognize this town under the disguise of *Grantham*; and *Nashaway* is an old name for Lancaster.

Another one of these London pamphlets, bearing the title of "News from New England," says, —

The 7th. of *March* following these bloody *Indians* march't to a considerable Town called *Croaton*, where first they set Fire to Major *Willard's* House, and afterwards burnt 65 more, there being Seaventy two Houses at first, so that there was left standing but six Houses of the whole Town (p. 4).

After these attacks, the town was deserted, and the inhabitants scattered in various directions among their friends and kindred. The war was soon ended; though it was a tedious two years before the early pioneers ventured back to their old homes, around which still clustered many tender associations as well as sad memories. It is recorded that other families came back with them. They returned, however, to meet hardships that would have overcome ordinary men. Several town-meetings were held to

consider their present needs; and it was voted at one of them to petition the General Court that they be relieved temporarily from country charges. The petition sets forth that, under Divine Providence, they had been great sufferers in the late war with the heathenish enemy; that they had been subjected to grievous losses and privations; but, at the same time, they expressed gratitude to their Heavenly Father that they had the liberty and opportunity to return. With the eye of faith they saw the hand of God in all their trials. This consolation alone supported them, for they knew that with Him on their side their troubles would disappear, and all would yet be well. In their letters and petitions, their humble trust in the providence of God is conspicuous. It furnishes the key-note to many of their actions that otherwise would seem unaccountable. In judging them, we should take the standard of their times and not that of our day. The scales should be carefully adjusted to the habits of that period when there were no public amusements, no popular reading in the shape of books and newspapers, and but little relaxation from toil.

In those early days there was no variety store, or trader's shop, as now, where people could gather to while away long evenings and to interchange opinions. The roads were so rough as to be passable only with rude carts; and carriages at that period were a luxury unknown. The men rode to meeting on horseback, with their wives seated behind them on pillions. The woman made sure of her position by holding tight to the man with her right arm. This mode of travel is supposed to have been popular with the young folks, when they rode after this fashion.

At a very early period, the road to the Bay, as it was called, — that is, to Boston, — was by the circuitous route through Chelmsford and Billerica, where there was a bridge built by several towns, — of which Groton was one, — and supported jointly by them for many years. In the year 1699 the towns of Groton, Chelmsford, and Billerica were engaged in a controversy about the proportion of expense

which each one should bear in building the bridge. The General Court settled the dispute by ordering this town to pay twenty-four pounds and ten shillings as her share in full, with no future liabilities. (Archives, cxxi. 99.)

The lives of our forefathers were one ceaseless struggle for existence; and there was no time or opportunity to cultivate those graces which we now consider so essential. If they were stern and austere, they were at the same time also virtuous and conscientious. Religion with them was a living, ever-present power; and in that channel went out all those energies which with us find outlet in many different directions. These considerations should modify the opinions commonly held in regard to the Puritan fathers. At that period women were content with domestic duties, and did not seek to take part in public affairs. It is wonderful that no murmur has come down to us expressive of the tyranny of man in withholding from them the rights which are now so loudly claimed.

After Philip's War the Colonists were at peace with the Indians, but it was a suspicious kind of peace. It required watching and a show of strength to keep it: there was no good-will between the native race and the white intruders.

Captain Francis Nicholson, writing from Boston to London, under date of August 31, 1688, speaks of the feeling here at that time. The letter is printed in "Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York" (iii. 551); and the writer says:—

Att night [August 19] I came to Dunstable (about 30 miles from hence) from thence I sent two English men and an Indian to Penecooke about sixty miles up the river Merymeck; the men told me they should be 3 dayes in doeing of it; soe next day I went through Groton and Lancaster, where the people were very much afraid (being out towns) butt I told them as I did other places, that they should nott be soe much cast down, for that they had the happinesse of being subjects of a victorious King, who could protect them from all their enemies.

The military company of the town was still kept up, and known as the Foot Company; and, during a part of the year 1689, was supported by some cavalry, under the command of Captain Jacob Moore. James Parker, Sen., was appointed the Captain of it; Jonas Prescott, the Lieutenant; and John Lakin, the Ensign: and these appointments were all confirmed by the Governor and Council, at a convention held in Boston, July 17, 1689. A month later (August 10), Captain Parker was ordered to supply Hezekiah Usher's garrison at Nonacoicus with "three men of the men sent up thither or of the Town's people, for y^e defence of y^t Garrison being of publique concernmt." Groton was one of the four towns that were designated, August 29, as the headquarters of the forces detached for the public service against the common enemy; Casco, Newichewanick (Berwick), and Haverhill being the others. And we find, soon after, an order to send "to the head Quarter at Groton for supply of the Garrison there One Thousan^d weight of Bread, One barrell of Salt, one barrell of powder three hundred weight of Shott, and three hundred flints, Six quire of Paper." Eleven troopers were sent hither, September 17, under Cornet John Chubbuck, to relieve Corporal White, who was succeeded by John Pratt. The commissary of the post at this time was Jonathan Remington, who seems to have had but little duty to perform. Shortly afterward the order came from the Governor and Council to discharge him, as well as Captain Moore and his company of cavalry, from the public service. (Archives, lxxxi. 24, 40, 60, 67, 71, 73, 74, 81, 138.)

In the year 1690 "Jn^o Paige of Groten" went in the expedition against Canada, under Major Wade; was wounded in the left arm, and did not recover entirely for two years. His surgeon's bill, amounting to four pounds, was paid out of the public treasury. (Archives, xxxvii. 62.)

These facts show that the early settlers at this time were not leading an easy life. The orders and counter-orders to even the small garrison show too well that danger was threatening. The inhabitants had already experienced the

cruelty of savage warfare, and knew it to their horror. For some years they had been on the constant alert, and held their lives in their hands. King William's War was now begun. The second attack on the town came in the summer of 1694; and the accounts of it I prefer to give in the words of contemporary writers. Sometimes there are variations in such accounts, but, as a whole, they constitute the best authority.

Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia*, thus refers to it:—

Nor did the Storm go over so: Some Drops of it fell upon the Town of *Groton*, a Town that lay, one would think, far enough off the Place where was the last *Scene* of the *Tragedy*. On *July 27*. [1694] about break of Day *Groton* felt some surprizing Blows from the *Indian Hatchets*. They began their Attacks at the House of one Lieutenant *Lakin*, in the Out-skirts of the *Town*; but met with a Repulse there, and lost one of their Crew. Nevertheless, in other Parts of that Plantation, (when the good People had been so tired out as to lay down their *Military Watch*) there were more than Twenty Persons killed, and more than a Dozen carried away. Mr. *Gershom Hobart*, the Minister of the Place, with part of his Family, was Remarkably preserved from falling into their Hands, when they made themselves the Masters of his House; though they Took Two of his Children, whereof the one was Killed, and the other some time after happily Rescued out of his Captivity. (Book vii. page 86.)

Charlevoix, a French missionary in Canada, gives from his own standpoint another version, as follows:—

The Abénaqui chief was Taxous, already celebrated for many exploits, and commendable attachment to our interests. This brave man, not satisfied with what he had just so valiantly achieved, chose forty of his most active men, and after three days' march, by making a long circuit, arrived at the foot of a fort [at Groton] near Boston, and attacked it in broad day. The English made a better defence than they did at Pescadoué [Piscataqua]. Taxous had two of his nephews killed by his side, and himself received more than a dozen musket balls in his clothes, but he at last carried the place, and then continued his ravages to the very doors of the capital. (History of New France, iv. 257, Shea's edition.)

The loss of life from this attack was considerably greater than when the town was destroyed and deserted in the year 1676. There were twenty-two persons killed and thirteen captured. The settlement was now more scattered than it was then, and its defence more difficult. For this reason more persons were killed and taken prisoners than when the place was assaulted eighteen years previously. It is said that the scalps of the unfortunate victims were given to Count de Frontenac, Governor of Canada. Among those killed were William Longley, his wife, and five of their children; his eldest child, Lydia, a daughter of twenty, a son named John, and Betty, a little girl who died soon after her capture, were taken prisoners. These three of his family escaped the fury of the savages and were spared. Lydia's name is found in a list of prisoners who were held in Canada, March 5, 1710-11. Within a few years past, a Genealogical Dictionary of Canadian families has been published, from which additional facts are gathered concerning her. This work ("Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Canadiennes," par l'Abbé Cyprien Tanguay, i. 9) gives her name as Lydia Madeleine Longley, and says that she was the daughter of William and Deliverance (Crisp) Longley, of Groton, where she was born, on April 12, 1674. In another place (p. 396) she is spoken of as Sister St. Madeleine. She was captured by the Abénaquis, a tribe of Indians who inhabited the territory now included in the State of Maine. She was baptized into the Roman Catholic church, on April 24, 1696, and lived at the Congregation of Notre Dame, in Montreal. She was buried on July 20, 1758.

Her middle name, Madeleine, was given to her doubtless when she joined the Roman church. It is possible that she may have lived for a time among the Indians, as many of the prisoners taken at the same assault were held by them.

John Longley was twelve years old when he was captured. He was carried away, and remained with the Indians for more than four years, — a part of the time being

spent in Canada, and the remainder in Maine. At length he was ransomed, but he had become so accustomed to savage life that he left it with great reluctance; and those who brought him away were obliged to use force to accomplish their purpose. He was afterward a useful inhabitant of the town, holding many offices of trust and responsibility.

It is recorded also that two children of Alexander Rouse, a near neighbor of William Longley, were killed in this assault of 1694.

Among the English captives at Quebec, redeemed by Mathew Cary, in October, 1695, was Thomas Drew, of Groton, and he probably was taken at this same assault. (Archives, xxxviii. A 2.) There was one "Tamasin Rouce of Grotten" received, January 17, 1698-9, on board the "Province Gally" at Casco Bay; and she probably was one of Alexander Rouse's family. She had, doubtless, been a prisoner for four years and a half, — the same length of time as John Longley's captivity. There are many instances of children who were kept for a long time by their captors. We can now hardly realize the bitter anguish felt by the parents over the loss of their little darlings. Bring the case home, and think for a moment what your feelings would be, if that curly-headed boy or smiling girl was snatched from your sight at a moment's notice, and carried off by the wild men of the woods for an uncertain fate. The kidnapping of one little boy* in a distant city in our times has caused the hearts of all the mothers in the land to thrill with horror as they heard of the atrocious deed, and to throb in sympathy with the bereaved parents.

In the year 1694 an Act was passed by the General Court, which prohibited the desertion of frontier towns by

* This allusion to little Charley Ross prompted his father, Christian K. Ross, of Philadelphia, a few months later to write me a note, under date of December 5, 1876, in which he says: — "While my family and self are kept in terrible suspense with regard to the fate of our dear child it is pleasant to know that so many persons truly sympathize with us in this great affliction."

the inhabitants, unless permission was first granted by the Governor and Council. There were eleven such towns, and Groton was one of them. The law required the inhabitants of these out-towns, who owned land or houses, to take out a special license, on pain of forfeiting their property, before they could quit their homes and live elsewhere. It was thought that the interests of the Crown would be prejudiced, and encouragement given to the enemy, if any of these posts were deserted, or were exposed by lessening their strength. Many towns were threatened by the Indians about this time, and a few were attacked. It is recorded that some of the settlers here left the town, and there was probably a movement among the inhabitants in other places, to do the same. This fact, undoubtedly, caused the enactment of the law.

Anything relating to the brave men who suffered in the Indian wars is now of interest to us, and I offer no apology for giving incidents that to some persons may seem trivial.

Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia*, mentions some instances of "mortal wounds upon the English not proving mortal," and gives the case of an inhabitant of this town, who was in a garrison at Exeter, New Hampshire, when that place was assaulted, July 4, 1690. He says that —

it is true, that one *Simon Stone* being here Wounded with Shot in *Nine* several places, lay for *Dead*, (as it was time!) among the *Dead*. The *Indians* coming to Strip him, attempted with *Two* several Blows of an Hatchet at his *Neck* to cut off his *Head*, which Blows added, you may be sure, more Enormous Wounds unto those *Port-holes* of *Death*, at which the *Life* of the Poor Man was already running out as fast as it could. Being charged hard by Lieutenant *Bancroft*, they left the Man without *Scalping* him; and the *English* now coming to Bury the *Dead*, one of the Soldiers perceived this poor Man to fetch a Gasp; whereupon an *Irish* Fellow then present, advised 'em to give him another Dab with an Hatchet, and so Bury him with the rest. The *English* detesting this Barbarous Advice, lifted up the Wounded Man, and poured a little *Fair Water* into his Mouth at which he Coughed; then they poured a little *Strong Water* after it, at which he opened his Eyes.

The *Irish* Fellow was ordered now to hale a Canoo ashore to carry the Wounded Men up the River unto a Chirurgeon; and as Teague was foolishly pulling the Canoo ashore with the Cock of his *Gun*, while he held the Muzzle in his *Hand*, his Gun went off and broke his *Arm*, whereof he remains a Cripple to *this Day*: But *Simon Stone* was thoroughly Cured, and is at *this Day* a very Lusty Man; and as he was Born with *Two Thumbs* on one Hand, his Neighbours have thought him to have at least as many *Hearts* as *Thumbs*! (Book vii. page 74.)

Many families trace back their line of descent to this same Simon Stone, who was so hard to kill, and to whom, fortunately, the finishing "Dab with an Hatchet" was not given.

Josiah Parker, of Cambridge, petitions the Governor and General Court, May 31, 1699, setting forth the fact that his brother, James Parker, Jr., and wife were both killed, and several of their children taken prisoners by the Indians, in the assault on Groton, in 1694. One of these children, Phinehas by name, was redeemed after four years of captivity at the eastward, by the master of a vessel, who paid six pounds for him. The uncle of the boy represents in the petition that he himself had reimbursed the master, and now wished that this sum be allowed him from the public treasury, which request was duly granted. This poor little orphan boy was only seven years old when carried off by the savages, and the petition relates that he was lame in one of his legs, as a result of the cruelty by his captors. (Archives, lxx. 401.)

It was probably during the attack of 1694 that Enosh Lawrence was wounded. He represented, in a petition to the Governor and Council, that he was a very poor man by reason of wounds in his hands received during a fight with the Indians in the former war, which almost wholly disabled him from earning a livelihood for himself and family. In consequence of these representations the House of Representatives allowed him, October 17, 1702, exemption from taxes, and an annual pension of three pounds during life. (Archives, lxx. 583.)

On January 21, 1695, Governor William Stoughton issued a proclamation, in which he refers to the "tragical outrages and barbarous murders" at Oyster River (now Durham, New Hampshire) and Groton. He says that several of the prisoners taken at these places "are now detained by the said Indians at Amarascoggin [Androscoggin] and other adjoining places." (Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York, ix. 613, 614.)

Cotton Mather says that one man was killed here in 1697, and that another, with two children, was carried into captivity. The prisoner was Stephen Holden, who was captured, with his two eldest boys, John, and Stephen, Jr. John was released in January, 1699, at which time the father and the other boy were yet remaining in the hands of the savages. It was not long, however, before they too were freed; for, in the following June, the House of Representatives voted three pounds and twelve shillings for the expenses incurred in bringing them back. (Archives, lxx. 393-400.)

After these attacks there was a short respite of hostilities, which continued till 1704, when the frontier towns were again exposed to savage warfare; and this town suffered with the others.

Samuel Penhallow, in "The History of the Wars of New-England," published in 1726, thus refers to the attack on this place, in August, 1704:—

[The Indians] afterwards fell on *Lancaster*, and *Groaton*, where they did some Spoil, but not what they expected, for that these Towns were seasonably strengthened. . . .

And yet a little while after they fell on *Groaton*, and *Nashaway* [Lancaster], where they kill'd Lieut. *Wylor* [Wilder], and several more (pp. 24, 25).

A party of Indians, about thirty in number, made their appearance in town, and killed a man on the night of October 25, 1704. Pursuit was at once made for them, but it was unsuccessful.

"The Boston News-Letter," No. 28, October 30, 1704, gives the following account of the affair:—

On *Wednesday* night an English man was kill'd in the Woods at *Groton* by the Indians which were afterwards descryed in the night by the Light of their Fires, by a Person Travailing from *Groton* to *Lancaster*, and judg'd they might be about Thirty in number; pursuit was made after them, but none could be found.

It is known that the man killed was John Davis, and that he lived where W. Dickson's house stood when the map in Mr. Butler's History was made; and Davis's Ford-way in the river near by, named after him, is still remembered by a few elderly people of that neighborhood.

It is not surprising that the inhabitants, upon the renewal of hostilities, were obliged to ask for help from the General Court. They had already suffered much in loss of life and property, and were little able to bear new burdens. They represented to the Governor that they had been greatly impoverished by the destruction of their cattle, and of corn and hay, and that they were scarcely able to hold out much longer; but the crowning calamity of all was the illness of the minister, Mr. Hobart, which prevented him from preaching. Their means were so limited that they could not support him and supply his place besides. They were obliged to earn their living at the peril of their lives; and some were thinking of leaving the town. They spent so much time in watching and guarding, that they seemed to be soldiers rather than farmers. Under these discouraging circumstances they asked for help, and were allowed out of the public treasury twenty pounds, to assist them in procuring another minister, besides ten pounds to be divided among those who were the greatest sufferers in the late attack upon them. (Archives, cxiii. 391, and lxxi. 107, 108.)

Two years later, another assault was made on the town, though with but little damage. I again quote from Penhallow:—

[July 21, 1706.] Several Strokes were afterwards made on *Chelmsford*, *Sudbury* and *Groton*, where three Soldiers as

they were going to publick Worship, were way-laid by a small Party, who kill'd two, and made the other a Prisoner (p. 36).

A few additional particulars of these "strokes" are found in the Reverend John Pike's Journal, as printed in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, for September, 1875, page 143, under this entry:—

July 21, 1706. Sab: 2 souldiers slain, & one carried away by the enemy at Groton. They were all new-Cambridge [Newton] men, & were returned to their Post from one Bloods house, who had invited y^m to Dinner.

The Reverend Jonathan Homer, in his History of Newton, as published in the Massachusetts Historical Collections (v. 273), gives the names of these men as John Myrick, Nathaniel Healy, and Ebenezer Seger, and says they were all three killed by the Indians. This statement, however, is inaccurate, as John Myrick was not one of the three soldiers, and furthermore he was alive after this date. From contemporary petitions on file among the State Archives (lxxi. 345, 419), it is clear that two of these men were brothers by the name of Seager, and the third man was Nathaniel Healy. It was Ebenezer Seager, who was killed, and Henry, Jr., taken prisoner.

Penhallow gives several instances of extreme cruelty to the prisoners on the part of the savages, and mentions the following case of a man who was captured in this town:—

A third was of *Samuel Butterfield*, who being sent to *Groton* as a Soldier, was with others attackt, as they were gathering in the Harvest; his bravery was such, that he kill'd one and wounded another, but being overpower'd by strength, was forc'd to submit; and it hapned that the slain *Indian* was a *Sagamore*, and of great dexterity in War, which caused matter of Lamentation, and enrag'd them to such degree that they vow'd the utmost revenge; Some were for whipping him to Death; others for burning him alive; but differing in their Sentiments, they submitted the Issue to the *Squaw Widow*, concluding she would determine something very dreadful, but

when the matter was opened, and the Fact considered, her Spirits were so moderate as to make no other reply, than, *Fortune L'guare*. Upon which some were uneasy; to whom she answered, *If by kiling him, you can bring my Husband to life again, I beg you to study what Death you please; but if not let him be my Servant;* which he accordingly was, during his Captivity, and had favour shewn him (pp. 38, 39).

Butterfield remained a captive for more than a year. It is not known how he obtained his release. We find his petition to the General Court, dated April 10, 1706, which sets forth the fact that he was an inhabitant of Chelmsford, and was sent by Captain Jerathmel Bowers to Groton, to help Colonel Taylor, in August, 1704, when the enemy came upon the place. He was ordered, with some others, to guard a man at work in the field, when the Indians attacked them, killed one, and captured another besides himself. Butterfield represents, in the petition, that he "made all the resistance possible, killed one, and knockt down two more after they had seized him, for which yo^r Petitioner was cruelly used by them afterwards & threatened to be burnt, several times." He says that he "was very well accoutred in all respects when he was taken, and then was stript of all and was between fourteen and fifteen months a Captive expos'd to great hardships, and has sustained great Loss and damage." In consideration of his loss and service, he was allowed the sum of ten pounds out of the public treasury. (Archives, lxxi. 195.)

A man was killed here, June 11, 1707. His name was Brown, and he is spoken of in Pike's Journal as Mr. Bradstreet's man. At this time the Reverend Dudley Bradstreet was the minister of the town.

In a list of prisoners in the hands of the French and Indians at Canada, March 5, 1710-11, we find the names of "Zech[?] Tarbal John Tarbal Sarah Tarbal Matt. Farnworth [and] Lydia Longley," all of Groton, though there is nothing in the record to show when they were captured. (Archives, lxxi. 765.) In the spring of 1739, the capture of the Tarbell boys is spoken of as occurring "above thirty

Years ago," and it is said that Zechariah was so young at the time that he lost his native language. The town records show that he was born January 25, 1700, and John, July 6, 1695. Sarah Tarbell was a sister of the boys, and was taken at the same time with them. I have been unable to find out what became of her, as all tradition on this point is lost. The history of the two brothers is a very singular one, and sounds more like fiction than truth. They were sons of Thomas Tarbell, who had a large family of children and lived on what is now known as Farmers' Row, a short distance south of the Lawrence farm. He was probably the "Corp^o Tarboll," who commanded, in the autumn of 1711, one of the eighteen garrisons in the town. The two boys were picking cherries early one evening, — so tradition relates, — and were taken by the Indians on June 20, 1707, before they had time to get down from the tree. It should be borne in mind that the date of capture, according to the new style of reckoning, was July 1, when cherries would be ripe enough to tempt the appetite of climbing youngsters. They were carried to Canada, where, it would seem, they were treated kindly. Matthias Farnsworth was taken in August, 1704, and Lydia Longley, in July, 1694; and during their captivity they both joined the Roman Catholic church and never returned to their native land.

In the year 1713 John Stoddard and John Williams were appointed by Governor Joseph Dudley, to go to Quebec and treat with the Governor-General of Canada for the release of the New England prisoners. They were accompanied by Thomas Tarbell, — an elder brother of the boys, — as we find his petition presented to the House of Representatives, June 1, 1715, "praying consideration and allowance for his Time and Expences in going to *Canada*, with Major *Stoddard* & Mr. *Williams*, Anno 1713. to recover the Captives."

The petition was referred, and, on the next day, —

Capt. *Noyes* from the Committee for Petitions, made Report on the Petition of *Thomas Tarboll*, *viz.* That they are of Opinion that nothing is due from the Province to the said *Tar-*

bell, since he proceeded as a Volunteer in that Service to *Canada*, & not employed by the Government, but recommended him to the favour of the House.

The report was accepted, and, in consideration of *Tarbell's* services, he was allowed ten pounds out of the public treasury. Captain *Stoddard's* "Journal" of the negotiations is printed in "The New England Historical and Genealogical Register," for January, 1851 (v. 26), and *Tarbell's* name is mentioned in it.

We find no further trace of these boys, now grown up to manhood, for nearly twenty-five years, when Governor *Belcher* brought their case, April 20, 1739, before the Council and the House of Representatives. He then made a speech in which he said that —

There are lately come from Canada some Persons that were taken by the Indians from Groton above thirty Years ago, who (its believed) may be induced to return into this Province, on your giving them some proper Encouragement: If this Matter might be effected, I should think it would be not only an Act of Compassion in order to reclaim them from their Savage Life, and to recover them from the Errors and Delusions of the Romish Faith; but their living among us might, in Time to come, be of great Advantage to the Province.

The subject was referred the same day to a Committee consisting of *John Read*, of Boston, *William Fairfield*, of Wenham, *Thomas Wells*, of Deerfield, *Benjamin Browne*, of Salem, and *Job Almy*, of Tiverton. On the next day, April 21, — as we read in the printed Journal of the House of Representatives, — the chairman of —

the Committee appointed to consider that Paragraph in His Excellency's SPEECH relating to the Encouragement of two English Captives from *Canada*, viz. *John Tharbell* and *Zechariah Tharbell*, made report thereon, which he read in his Place, and then delivered it at the Table; and after some debate thereon, the House did not accept the Report; and having considered the same Article by Article, the House came into a Vote thereon, and sent the same up to the honourable Board for Concurrence.

On the 23d we find —

A Petition of *Thomas Tharbell* of *Groton*, Elder Brother of the two Mr. *Tharbells* lately returned from Captivity in *Canada*, praying he may be allowed the Loan of some Money to enable him to pay *William Rogers*, jun. his Account of Charges in bringing his Brethren to *Boston*. Read and *Ordered*, That the Petition be considered to morrow morning.

On the next day —

THE House pass'd a Vote on the Petition of *Thomas Tharbell* of *Groton*, praying as entred the 23d current, and sent the same up to the honourable Board for Concurrence.

All these efforts, however, to reclaim the two men from savage life proved unavailing; for it is known that they remained with the Indians and became naturalized, if I may use the expression. They married Indian wives, and were afterward made chiefs at *Caughnawaga* and *St. Regis*, villages in *Canada*. Their descendants are still living among the Indians, and the *Tarbells* of the present day, in this town, are their collateral kindred. Nearly forty years after their capture, Governor *Hutchinson* met them in *New York State*, and refers to them thus: —

I saw at *Albany* two or three men, in the year 1744, who came in with the Indians to trade, and who had been taken at *Groton* in this, that is called *Queen Ann's war*. One of them — *Tarbell*, was said to be one of the wealthiest of the *Cagnawaga* tribe. He made a visit in his Indian dress and with his Indian complexion (for by means of grease and paints but little difference could be discerned) to his relations at *Groton*, but had no inclination to remain there. (*Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts*, ii. 139.)

This is another account: —

It is related that, about a century and a half ago, while a couple of boys and a girl were playing in a barn at *Groton*, *Massachusetts*, some Indians suddenly appeared, seized the boys and fled, carrying them to the village of *Caughnawaga*, nine miles above *Montreal*. They grew up with Indian habits, man-

ners, and language, being finally adopted as members of the tribe; and married Indian brides selected from the daughters of the principal chiefs. ("The Galaxy," for January, 1870, p. 124.)

I have been told that the name "Caughnawaga" is a corruption of Kaknawaka, which in the Indian tongue means "The Rapids."

The people must have lived in constant dread of the Indians during the period of Queen Anne's War. Sometimes an outlying farmhouse was attacked and burned, some of the inmates killed and others carried away in captivity; sometimes the farmer was shot down while at labor in the field, or while going or coming. This was the fate of John Shattuck and his eldest son, John, a young man eighteen years of age, who were killed on May 8, 1709.

At another time, the date of which is not recorded, but probably in the attack of July, 1694, the house of John Shepley was burned, and himself and all his family were massacred, except his young son, John. There may have been some special spite against him, because some years before he had killed an Indian; for which act he received from the General Court a bounty of four pounds. (Archives, xxx. 496, 497.) This boy John the savages carried away with them and held as captive during several years. But as is often said, where there is great loss, there is some little gain. The knowledge which he obtained of their language and customs while a prisoner was of much use to him in dealing with them in after-life. Tradition relates that, when buying furs and skins of the Indians, he used to put his foot in one scale of the balance instead of a pound weight. He is the direct ancestor of the Honorable Ether Shepley, formerly Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of Maine, and of General George F. Shepley, now a Justice of the Circuit Court of the First Circuit of the United States.

Near the end of Queen Anne's War, we find a list of eighteen garrisons in this town containing, in all, fifty-eight families, or three hundred and seventy-eight souls. Of

these, seventeen were soldiers in the public service. (Archives, lxxi. 874.)

The military company posted here in the summer of 1724 was made up of soldiers from different towns in this part of the Province, and was commanded by Lieutenant Jabez Fairbanks. Some of them were detailed as guards to protect the more exposed garrisons, and others were scouting in the neighborhood. They were so scattered that the commanding officer found it difficult to drill them as a company. Fortunately, however, they were not engaged in much fighting, though the enemy had been lurking in the vicinity, and threatening the town. Thirteen of Lieutenant Fairbanks's company belonged here, and represented some of the most influential families in the place.

Penhallow, in speaking of the Indians at this period, says that, —

The next damage they did, was at *Groton*, but were so closely pursued, that they left several of their Packs behind (p. 102).

In this paragraph he alludes to the killing of John Ames, on July 9, 1724, who was shot by an Indian, one of a small party that attacked Ames's garrison, near the Nashua River, in the northerly part of the town which comes now in Pepperell. It is said that he was the last person killed by an Indian within the township. The Indian himself was immediately afterward shot by Jacob Ames, one of John's sons. (Archives, lii. 23.)

Governor Saltonstall, of Connecticut, writes from New London, under date of July 23, 1724, that the friendly Indians of that neighborhood seem inclined to hunt for scalps about Monadnock and the further side of Dunstable and Groton. This was owing to an offer made about this time by the Provincial authorities of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, of a bounty of a hundred pounds for every Indian's scalp taken and shown to the proper officers. This premium stimulated volunteers to scour the wilderness for the purpose of hunting Indians, and Captain John Love-

well, of Dunstable,* organized a company, which soon became famous.

The story of Lovewell's fight was for a long time told in every household in this neighborhood, and there is scarcely a person who has not heard from early infancy the particulars of that eventful conflict. It was in the spring of the year 1725 that Captain Lovewell, with thirty-four men, fought a famous Indian chief, named Paugus, at the head of about eighty savages, near the shores of a pond in Pequawket, now within the limits of Fryeburg, Maine. Of this little Spartan band, seven belonged in Groton; and one of them, John Chamberlain by name, distinguished himself by killing the Indian leader. It is fit that a bare reference to this fight should be made on this occasion, though time does not allow me to dwell upon it.

The town, now no longer on the frontiers, was again threatened with danger near the end of King George's war. A company of thirty-two men, under the command of Captain Thomas Tarbell, scouted in this vicinity for six days in July, 1748, but they do not appear to have discovered the enemy. A few days afterward, another company of thirty-six men was sent on a similar expedition, but with no better success. In the rolls of these two companies we find many names that have been prominent in the annals of the town from its very beginning. Among them are the Prescotts, the Amesess, the Bancrofts, the Shepleys, the Parkers, a son of Parson Bradstreet, and a grandson of Parson Hobart.

The military service of Groton men was not confined to this neighborhood. Daniel Farmer, a Groton soldier, was taken prisoner in a skirmish with the Indians, near Fort Dummer, on July 14, 1748. He was carried to Canada and kept till the following October, when he was allowed to return home.

* The Dunstable of early times is not identical with the present town of that name in this State, though situated in the same neighborhood. Old Dunstable was a very large township, containing 128,000 acres of land lying on both sides of the Merrimack. By the running of the new Provincial line, A. D. 1741, it was so cut in two that by far the larger part of her territory came within the jurisdiction of New Hampshire. For fuller details, see pp. 129, 130.

Fort Dummer was situated on the west bank of the Connecticut River, in the present town of Brattleborough, Vermont. Two of its early commanders had been connected with Groton by the ties of kindred. Colonel Josiah Willard, in command of the fort for many years, was a grandson of Parson Willard; and he was succeeded in command by Lieutenant Dudley Bradstreet, a son of Parson Bradstreet, and a native of this place.

Ebenezer Farnsworth, born in Groton, was captured on August 30, 1754, by the St. Francis Indians, at Charlestown, New Hampshire. He was taken to Montreal and held a prisoner during three years. His ransom was paid in the summer of 1755, but he was not then set at liberty. Mrs. Johnson and her sister, Miriam Willard, were taken at the same time. They were both daughters of Moses Willard, who had formerly lived in the south part of this town.

During the French and Indian War, the territory of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, fell under British authority; and the conquest was followed by a terrible act of cruelty and violence. The simple Acadians, unsuspecting of the designs of the English leaders, were assembled in their churches, in obedience to military proclamation, and thence, without being allowed to return to their homes, were driven at the point of the bayonet on board ships, to be scattered over all the English colonies in America. This was done with so little regard to humanity that, in many instances, wives were separated from husbands, and children from parents, never to see one another again. Many an Evangeline waited in vain expectation of being reunited to her Gabriel, thus torn away from her. Two of these French families, ten persons in all, were sent to Groton, where one of the mothers died, not many months after her arrival, perhaps from the rude transplanting. A few years later a French family—perhaps one of these two—is mentioned as living here; but the household had become divided, some of the little children being sent to the neighboring towns. Our pity for these unfortunate people will be

stronger when we reflect that they were miserably poor, among a race who spoke a strange language, followed other customs, and abominated their religion. Under these circumstances their homesickness must indeed have been bitter ; but we have reason to believe that they were treated with tender care by the people here. We are glad to learn from the records that they were furnished with medical attendance, and articles necessary for their bodily comfort.

Another struggle was now impending, harder than any the Colonists had been engaged in. Almost immediately



Stamp and Counter-stamp
1765.

after the French and Indian War, the odious Stamp Act was passed, which did much to hasten public opinion toward the Revolution.

I hold in my hand a stamp issued under the authority of this Act. On a public occasion, many years ago, Mr. Everett said, in speaking of a similar one, that "this bit of dingy blue paper, stamped with the two-and-sixpence sterling, created the United States of America, and cost Great Britain the brightest jewel in her crown."

The Stamp Act was followed by the Boston Massacre, the Boston Tea Party, and the Boston Port Bill, — all too familiar to be particularized. These acts excited throughout the land a deep feeling for the capital of New England. The eyes of all the colonies were now turned toward Boston, and she received the hearty sympathy of the whole country. The sentiments of the people of this town are

shown in the following letter from the Town Clerk, which is printed in the Massachusetts Historical Collections (fourth series, iv. 7, 8) : —

GROTON, June 28th, 1774.

GENTLEMEN, — The inhabitants of the Town of Groton, in general, are deeply affected with a sense of our public calamities, and more especially the distresses of our brethren in the Capital of the Province, as we esteem the act of blocking up the harbor of Boston replete with injustice and cruelty, and evidently designed to compel the inhabitants thereof to submission of taxes imposed upon them without their consent, and threatens the total destruction of the liberties of all British America. We ardently desire a happy union with Great Britain and the Colonies, and shall gladly adopt every measure consistent with the dignity and safety of British subjects for that purpose.

In full confidence that the inhabitants of the Town of Boston will, in general, exhibit examples of patience, fortitude and perseverance, while they are called to endure this oppression for the preservation of the liberties of their country, and in token of our willingness to afford all suitable relief to them in our power, a number of the inhabitants of this Town have subscribed, and this day sent forty bushels of grain, part rye and part Indian corn, to be delivered to the Overseers of the Poor of said Town of Boston, not doubting but the same will be suitably applied for that purpose; and we earnestly desire you will use your utmost endeavor to prevent and avoid all mobs, riots, and tumults, and the insulting of private persons and property. And while the farmers are cheerfully resigning part of their substance for your relief, we trust the merchants will not oppress them by raising upon the goods which they have now on hand and heretofore purchased. And may God prosper every undertaking which tends to the salvation of the people.

We are, gentlemen, your friends and fellow-countrymen. In the name and by order of the Committee of Correspondence for the Town of Groton.

OLIVER PRESCOTT, *Clerk.*

TO THE OVERSEERS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON.

The reply, printed in the same volume of Collections, is as follows : —

BOSTON, July 5th, 1774.

SIR, — Your obliging letter directed to the Overseers of the Poor of this Town, together with a generous present from a number of the inhabitants of the Town of Groton, for the relief of such inhabitants of this Town as may be sufferers by the Port Bill, is come to hand. In behalf of the Committee of this Town, appointed for the reception of such kind donations, I am now to return to you and the rest of our benefactors the most sincere thanks. The gentlemen may be assured their donations will be applied to the purpose they intend. We are much obliged to you for the wise cautions given in your letter; and we shall use our best endeavors that the inhabitants of this Town may endure their sufferings with dignity, that the glorious cause for which they suffer may not be reproached. We trust that the non-consumption agreement, which we hear is making progress in the country, will put it out of the power of any of the merchants to take unreasonable advantage of raising the prices of their goods. You will, however, remember that many heavy articles, such as nails, &c., will be attended with considerable charge in transporting them from Salem. As the bearer is in haste, I must conclude, with great regard for your Committee of Correspondence and the inhabitants of the Town of Groton.

Sir, your friend and fellow-countryman,

Signed by order of the Overseers of the Poor,

SAM. PARTRIDGE.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE TOWN OF GROTON,
IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The times that tried men's souls were now rapidly approaching; and the rights of the Colonies were the uppermost subject in the minds of most people. Groton sympathized warmly with this feeling, and prepared to do her part in the struggle. A considerable number of her inhabitants had received their military schooling in the French war, as their fathers before them had received theirs in the Indian war. Such persons did not now enter upon camp life as inexperienced or undisciplined soldiers. The town had men willing to serve and able to command. Within a quarter of a mile of this very spot the man was born, who commanded the American forces on Bunker Hill;

and, as long as the story of that battle is told, the name of Prescott will be familiar.*

Before the beginning of actual hostilities, two companies of minute-men had been organized in this place; and, at the desire of the officers, on February 21, 1775, the Reverend Samuel Webster, of Temple, New Hampshire, preached a sermon before them, which was afterward printed. It is there stated that a large majority of the town had engaged to hold themselves, agreeably to the plan of the Provincial Council, in prompt readiness to act in the service of their country. The sermon is singularly meagre in details which would interest us at this time, and is made up largely of theological opinion, perhaps as valuable now as then, though not so highly prized.

At this period the Reverend Samuel Dana was the minister of the town, but, unfortunately for him, he was too much in sympathy with the Crown in the great struggle now going on for human rights. Mr. Dana may not have been a Tory; but he did not espouse the cause of the Revolution. The state of public feeling was such that everybody was distrusted who was not on the side of political liberty. The people said, "He who is not for us is against us"; and the confidence of his flock was converted into distrust. It was easy to see that his influence was gone; and almost every minister in New England who held similar opinions shared the same fate. It was important that the public teacher and preacher should be in sympathy with the popular mind on the great political questions of the day. This was a period of big events; and no man could stand against their crushing force. It was evident that his usefulness was ended; and the relations between him and his parish were severed without the intervention of a regular ecclesiastical council.

Mr. Dana was a conscientious man; and it was his misfortune rather than his fault, that he was not more happily

* On the night of May 21, 1775, the countersign at the camp in Cambridge was "Pepperell," and the parole, "Groton." This was undoubtedly in compliment to Colonel Prescott.

situated in regard to his people. It is but justice to his memory to say that, after Burgoyne's surrender, in the year 1777, Mr. Dana felt that the Colonial cause was the winning one; while before this event he thought that the want of success on the part of the Colonists would result in their greater misery. He then became satisfied that the power of the country was sufficient to sustain the Declaration of Independence; and ever after he was the uniform supporter of all measures looking to its acknowledgment by the enemy. It is a little remarkable that Mr. Dana, who had such a Tory bias that he was obliged to leave the ministry in Groton, should have been a candidate in 1782 for the convention to form a constitution for New Hampshire, "as a sovereign and independent body politic."

After his dismissal from the parish, he officiated during perhaps a year and a half, in 1780 and 1781, as the minister of a Presbyterian society, which had a short existence in this town. This was owing chiefly to some of his old parishioners, who were dissatisfied with Dr. Chaplin, his successor. While living here, Mr. Dana was appointed executor of the will of John Bulkley, Esq., an attorney-at-law in Groton. This position brought him in contact with a library, which he used in studying law, though now with no professional eye to business. In the year 1779 Thomas Coleman, who succeeded Mr. Bulkley as a lawyer, had his residence and office in Mr. Dana's house; and this circumstance helped him in gaining his new profession. He was admitted to the bar in 1781, and began practice at Amherst, New Hampshire. He soon attained high rank in his new calling, and received many marks of kindness and confidence from his neighbors and fellow-citizens. He was offered the appointment to a judgeship of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, which he declined. He afterward accepted the office of Judge of Probate, which he kept only for a short time. His success as an advocate before a jury was marked; and this was due in part to the fluency of speech and the clearness of expression resulting from his pulpit experience.

He died at Amherst, on April 2, 1798, and was buried with masonic honors, when the Honorable Timothy Bigelow, of Groton, delivered a funeral eulogy, which is in print. His name is perpetuated in this town by the Dana School.

During several days before the Battle of Lexington, a hostile incursion by the English soldiers stationed in Boston was expected by the patriots. Its aim was the destruction of stores collected for the use of the Provincial cause; and on this account every movement of the British troops was closely watched. At this time the Committees of Safety and of Supplies voted that some of the stores should be kept at Groton; and, if their plan had been fully carried out, it is among the possibilities of the war that another battle might have been fought in Middlesex County, and Groton have been the scene of the action. But open hostilities began so soon afterward that no time was given to make the removal of the stores. It was ordered by these committees, April 17, that the four six-pounders be transported from Concord to Groton, and put under the care of Colonel Oliver Prescott. On the next day it was voted that all the ammunition should be deposited in nine different towns of the Province, of which Groton was one, and that one-half of the musket cartridges be removed from Stow to Groton. It was also voted that two "medicinal" chests should be kept at different places in the town, and that eleven hundred tents be deposited in equal quantities in Groton and six other towns. (See Journals of the Committee of Safety and of the Committee of Supplies of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, 1774-1775, pp. 516-518.)

In the summer of 1777 the Council of the State recommended to the Board of War that the magazine in this town should be enlarged sufficiently to hold five hundred barrels of powder. This recommendation was carried out within a few days; and a corporal and four privates were detailed to guard it. A caution was given "that no person be inlisted into said Guard that is not known to be attached to

the American Cause." Later in the autumn, the detail was increased to a sergeant and nine privates. (Archives, clxxiii. 274, 290, 549.)

Two years afterward some glass was wanted for this very building, and for the schoolhouse, as the windows were much broken. The selectmen of the town could obtain the glass only through the Board of War; and to this end they petitioned the Board for leave to buy it. (Archives, clxxv. 647.) The request was duly granted; and I mention it as a trivial fact to show one of the little privations common in those days.

It is said in a note-book of the Reverend Dr. Jeremy Belknap, of Boston, printed in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for June, 1875, page 93, that a negro belonging to this town shot Major Pitcairn through the head, while he was rallying the dispersed British troops, at the Battle of Bunker Hill. It is known that Pitcairn was killed by a negro, but this is, perhaps, the first time that he has ever been connected on good authority with Groton. The loss of life from this town at that battle was larger than that from any other place. One commissioned officer and ten enlisted men, residents of Groton, were either killed or mortally wounded. This statement shows the patriotic character of the citizens at that period.

The record of this town during the Revolution was a highly honorable one. Her soldiers achieved distinction in the field, and many of them in after-life filled positions of trust and responsibility.

In the year 1776 an Act was passed removing the November term of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace and Court of Common Pleas, from Charlestown to Groton. It may be conjectured that the change was owing to the disturbances of the war. Two years later, by another Act, this November term was transferred to Cambridge, to take the place of the May term, which in turn was brought to Groton, where it remained till 1787. It is known that the sessions of the Court were held in this meeting-house where we are now assembled; and the Court was sitting here

during the famous dark day of May, 1780. It is highly probable that the Shays Rebellion, which broke out in the summer of 1786, had some connection with the removal of these sessions from Groton. The uprising in Middlesex County was confined exclusively to this neighborhood, and the insurgents always felt a bitter spite against the Court of Common Pleas, which they tried so hard to abolish. The action of the Legislature in making the change seems to have been in part retributive.

In his senior year Joseph Dennie, the poet, was rusticated from college and placed under the care of Dr. Chaplin, the minister of this town. Dennie used to say that he was sent away from Cambridge to let his class catch up with him in their studies. After he had been here a short time, under date of February 24, 1790, he writes to a class-mate, giving his impressions of the place. He says: "A better, more royal, social club of Lads cannot be found in America, college excepted, than at Groton."

During a part of the first half of the present century, Groton had one characteristic feature that it no longer possesses. It was a radiating centre for different lines of stage-coaches, until this mode of travel was superseded by the swifter one of the railway. A whole generation has passed away since the old coaches were wont to be seen in these streets. They were drawn usually by four horses, and in bad going by six. Here a change of coaches, horses, and drivers was made.

The stage-driver of former times belonged to a class of men that have entirely disappeared from this community. His position was one of considerable responsibility. This important personage was well known along his route, and his opinions were always quoted with respect. I easily recall, as many of you can, the familiar face of Aaron Corey, who drove the accommodation stage to Boston for so many years. He was a careful and skilful driver, and a man of most obliging disposition. He would go out of his way to do an errand or leave a newspaper; but his specialty was to look after women and children committed

to his charge. I remember on one occasion when Mr. Corey went out of his customary course, and drove up to a house standing by the wayside; and with an elderly woman who came to the door he left a message that the baby was better. What a weight of sorrow these few words of good cheer, before the time of telegraphs, lifted from the heart of an anxious grandmother! I recall, too, with pleasure, Horace George, another driver, popular with all the boys, because in sleighing-time he would let us ride on the rack behind, and would even slacken the speed of his horses so as to allow us to catch hold of the straps.

The earliest line of stage-coaches between Boston and Groton is advertised in the "Columbian Centinel" (Boston), April 6, 1793, under the heading of "New Line of Stages."

In the year 1802 it is advertised that the Groton stage would set off from I. & S. Wheelock's, No. 37 Marlboro' (now a part of Washington) Street, Boston, every Wednesday at 4 o'clock in the morning, and arrive at Groton at 3 o'clock in the afternoon; and that it would leave Groton every Monday at 4 o'clock in the morning, and arrive in Boston at 6 o'clock in the afternoon. It seems from this that it took three hours longer to make the trip down to Boston than up to Groton. In the succeeding year a semi-weekly line is mentioned, and Dearborn Emerson was the driver. About this time he opened the tavern, at the corner of Main and Pleasant Streets, — though Pleasant Street was not then laid out, — long since given up as an inn, and subsequently burned. There were then two other taverns in the place, — the one kept by the Hall brothers, and continued as a tavern till this time; and the other kept by Jephthah Richardson, on the present site of the Baptist meeting-house. About the year 1807 there was a tri-weekly line of stages to Boston, and as early as 1820 a daily line, which connected here with others extending into New Hampshire and Vermont. Soon after this there were at times two lines to Boston, running in opposition to each other, — one known as the Union and Accommodation

Line, and the other as the Telegraph and Despatch. Besides these, there was the accommodation stage-coach that went three times a week, and took passengers at a dollar each.

In the year 1830 George Flint had a line to Nashua, and John Holt had one to Fitchburg. They advertise "that no pains shall be spared to accommodate those who shall favor them with their custom, and all business intrusted to their care will be faithfully attended to."

There was also at this time a coach running to Lowell, and another to Worcester; and previously one to Amherst, New Hampshire.

Some of you will remember the scenes of life and activity that were to be witnessed in the village on the arrival and departure of the stages. Some of you will remember, too, the loud snap of the whip which gave increased speed to the horses, as they dashed up in approved style to the stopping-place, where the loungers were collected to see the travellers and listen to the gossip that fell from their lips. There were no telegraphs then, and but few railroads in the country. The papers did not gather the news so eagerly nor spread it abroad so promptly as they do now, and items of intelligence were carried largely by word of mouth. But those days have long since passed. There are persons in this audience that have reached years of maturity, who have no recollection of them; but such is the rapid flight of time that, to some of us, they seem very near.

Groton was situated on one of the main thoroughfares leading from Boston to the northern country, comprising an important part of New Hampshire and Vermont, and extending into Canada. It was traversed by a great number of wagons, drawn by four or six horses, carrying to the city the various products of the country, such as grain, pork, butter, cheese, eggs, venison, hides; and returning with goods found in the city, such as molasses, sugar, New England rum, coffee, tea, nails, iron, cloths, and the innumerable articles found in the country stores, to be distributed among the towns above here. In some seasons

it was no uncommon sight to see in one day thirty such wagons.

We are now in our history passing through a period of centennial anniversaries, and we shall do well to study carefully their lesson. They are appearing unto us at different times and in different places. Their proper observance will kindle anew the patriotic fires of the Revolution, and bring out all over the land a common devotion to the Republic.

Time rolls on rapidly, and a century is soon completed. There are many in this audience who will see those that will be living a hundred years hence. To look ahead, a century appears to be a long period; but, to look back to the extent of one's memory, it seems a short one. The years fly on wings, and change is a law of Nature. I can recall now but two families in the village, that are living in the same houses which they occupied in my boyhood; and those two are Mr. Dix's and Mr. Blanchard's. A familiar sight at that time was the venerable form of Mr. Butler, whose character was well shown in his benignant face. His accurate History will be an abiding monument to his memory, and his name will be cherished as long as the town has a political existence. At that time the Common was the playground of the boys, — it had not then been fenced in, and there was but a single row of elms along the main street. Of the boys that played there, many are dead, others have left the town, and only a few remain. And the same can be said of the school-girls.

The lines are fallen unto us in pleasant places, and we all have much to be thankful for. What a contrast between our lot and that of our fathers! They had to struggle with many hardships. Their life was one of stern, unremitting toil, surrounded by cares and anxieties. They had to subdue the wilderness, while exposed to the assaults of a lurking savage foe. We, on the other hand, now enjoy much of the material results of their labor. We have but to cast our eyes about us, and see the comfortable homes and fertile fields. They left us the means of religious instruc-

tion, a system of public schools, and an attachment to the government which they labored so hard in founding. All these they placed in our keeping, and it rests with us to preserve them intact for the generations to come. The duty with us now is to see that the Republic shall receive no harm; to see that no moral decay — the sure precursor of physical decay — shall sap the structure which they reared. Our aim should be to leave to our children an example as noble as the one that was left to us.

The three monuments dedicated on this occasion bore the following inscriptions: —

NEAR THIS SPOT
STOOD THE FIRST MEETING HOUSE OF GROTON
BUILT IN 1666
AND BURNT BY THE INDIANS
13 MARCH 1676

HERE DWELT
WILLIAM AND DELIVERANCE LONGLEY
WITH THEIR EIGHT CHILDREN.
ON THE 27TH OF JULY 1694
THE INDIANS KILLED THE FATHER AND MOTHER
AND FIVE OF THE CHILDREN
AND CARRIED INTO CAPTIVITY
THE OTHER THREE.

COLONEL WILLIAM PRESCOTT
COMMANDER OF THE AMERICAN FORCES
AT THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL
WAS BORN ON THE 20TH OF FEBRUARY 1726
IN A HOUSE WHICH STOOD
NEAR THIS SPOT

AN
HISTORICAL ADDRESS

FEBRUARY 20, 1880

AT THE DEDICATION OF THREE MONUMENTS ERECTED
BY THE TOWN

TO

The Memory of the Children

CAPTURED DURING THE INDIAN WARS AND CARRIED OFF
FROM GROTON, OF WHOM
SOME MADE HOMES WITH THEIR CAPTORS WHERE THEY
LIVED AND DIED, WHILE OTHERS CAME BACK TO
THEIR NATIVE TOWN AND FILLED PLACES
OF HONOR AND USEFULNESS

THIS ADDRESS IS INSCRIBED

BY THE WRITER

HISTORICAL ADDRESS

IT is the duty of every community to commemorate the great deeds and to perpetuate the important events connected with its history. The town of Groton is performing that duty when she erects the monuments which we dedicate to-day. These stones are set up to the pious memory of the founders of the town, who worshipped God in that rude and humble meeting-house so soon to be destroyed by the Indians; to the sad memory of that unfortunate family who on their own threshold were massacred by the savages; and to the honored memory of a military commander, who was the ancestor as well as the descendant of a long line of distinguished and useful families.

There were not many places in the Massachusetts Colony settled earlier than this good old town; but old as she is, she is yet too young to forget her children. With motherly affection she watches their career and notes their deeds. It matters not when they lived or when they died, their names are still remembered at the old home. It matters not whether they achieved distinction, as the world goes, or whether they pursued the even tenor of their way in quiet paths, — their memory is equally dear in the family circle. Connected with some of them are certain local incidents of historical interest which deserve to enter into the thoughts of future generations. And I submit that it is sound public policy to mark the spots so closely associated with such events. It is an act in memory of the dead, for the benefit of the living. It is a debt due from the present to the past, and the town cheerfully recognizes the obligation. With us and those who follow us, these monuments will mean veneration for the virtues of the early settlers, sympathy for their misfortunes, and an appreciation of their noble deeds.

The pioneer Puritans aimed at establishing a Christian Commonwealth on this continent; and the General Court, in granting plantations or townships, often required that there should be a sufficient number of settlers to support a minister. Every man was obliged to pay his share of the cost, and no one seemed inclined to question the right of such an obligation. Groton was incorporated as a town, on May 25, 1655, and in the grant the General Court expressed the desire that it should be laid out "with all Convenient speede that so no Incouragement may be wanting to the Peticone's for a speedy procuring of a godly minister amongst them." Various circumstances conspired to hinder the growth of the new settlement, and, much to the disappointment of the petitioners doubtless, it was some years before a minister was settled. The very first entry in the earliest book of town records — known as "The Indian Roll" — refers to the building of a house for the minister and the place for the meeting-house. It is as follows: —

Att a generall towne meet[ing,] June. 23. 1662.

It was agreed vpon that the house for the Minister should be set vpon the place where it is now framinge.

Also that the meetinge house shall be sett vpon the right hand of the path by a smale whit Oak, marked at the souwest side with two notches & a blaze

It is very likely that the minister's house was built about this time, as it was then in the framing; but the meeting-house was not erected until four years afterward. The dwelling stood near the site of the present High School, and for several years the inhabitants met in it for worship on Sundays. It was a good-sized building; for it was used as a town-hall and schoolhouse as well as a meeting-house, and subsequently, at the outbreak of Philip's War, as a garrison-house, when it was in the possession of Parson Willard.

The exact spot where the meeting-house stood cannot now be ascertained, but its neighborhood is well known. The nearest clew to the site is found in the following entry in "The Indian Roll": —

The Record of y^e landes granted to Mr gershom hubard at a ginrall town meeting June 29 1678 viz all the common land that lye neare the place wheir the old meeting house stood Dunstable hye way runing thorow it and the hye way Runing into the captains land wheir it may be Judged most convenient by them that are to lay it out

This record would place the site very near to the North Common, and nowhere else. As the meeting-house was "sett on the right hand of the path," it must have stood on land now owned by Governor Boutwell. The principal roads met here or near this place, and it was the most convenient spot that could have been chosen. There were at that time probably not more than fifty families living in the town; of these, perhaps fifteen were in the immediate neighborhood, and the others were scattered widely apart, mostly on the road to the Bay, as the road to Boston was called, and on the Lancaster highway. These were the two principal thoroughfares of that early period, and they converged to a point near the meeting-house.

The circumstantial evidence in the case goes also to confirm this view in regard to the site. At a town meeting held March 5, 1665-66, it was voted that a pound should be built for the town's use, and be placed *near the meeting-house*. Unfortunately, the leaf of the original record containing this vote is now lost; but it was seen and examined by Mr. Butler, who quotes it in his History of the town (p. 41). At this time the meeting-house was not built, but the place for it had been selected. There is no reason to suppose that the site of the pound was ever changed until within comparatively modern times; and there are many in this audience who remember the identical spot where it formerly stood, which was near the North Common.

Shortly after the re-settlement of the town, subsequent to its burning by the Indians, the usual discussion took place about choosing the site of the meeting-house, which always occurs in every small community. It was not peculiar to this town nor to that time, but is common to-day, here and elsewhere. On June 8, 1680, it was voted —

that the meeting house shall stand wheir the other meeting house or some wheir their about.

This second meeting-house is known to have stood on the Middle Common, near the Chaplin Schoolhouse; and this would be in accordance with the vote that it should be on the old site, or "*some wheir their about.*"

The next allusion to church affairs, found in the public records, is the following:—

At a generall Towne meeting. March 18. 1663. It was general[ly] agreed, as folloeth

first. That M^r Millar is by the Consent of the Towne manifested by vote to be desired if God moue his hart there unto to continve still with vs for our further edificat[ion.] Richard Blood desents from this in regard of the time of o^r desiring him. w^e he would have to be after the gen^t Court.

2^d That M^r Miller shall haue a Twenty Acar lot layd out to him according to the Townes grant to him

This vote gives the name of the first minister of Groton, and contains the only reference to him now found in the town records. The inhabitants little thought at the time that he would be called upon so soon to render the account of his stewardship on earth. In three short months after the town had invited him to continue with them as their friend and pastor, his labors ceased, and he went to take his reward. In the first return of deaths, made by the town clerk of Groton to the clerk of the courts, the record of his death is thus given:—

M^r Jn^o Miller minister of Gods holy word died. June 12th 1663.

In the church records of Roxbury, kept at that time by the Reverend Samuel Danforth, and containing references to events throughout New England, it is written that—

June. 14. [1663.] M^r John Miller Preacher of y^e Gospell at Groyton, sometime Pastor to y^e church at Yarmouth rested frō his labours.

It will be seen that the date of his death in these two records differs by two days, but the one given by the town clerk

is probably correct. As the pioneer preacher of the town when it was yet a wilderness, Mr. Miller deserves more than a passing notice.

The Reverend John Miller graduated at Gonvil and Caius College, Cambridge, England, in the year 1627, and came to this country in 1637. He lived for a short time in Roxbury, where he was one of the elders in Eliot's church. He was settled in the ministry at Rowley, from the year 1639 to 1641, and perhaps later, as an assistant to the Reverend Ezekiel Rogers; and during this time he filled the office of town clerk. He was made a freeman of Massachusetts, May 22, 1639. In the autumn of 1641, he was waited on by messengers from Woburn, who desired his services for their church; but they found "Mr. Rogers loth to part with him."

Johnson, in his "Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Saviour, in New England," refers to him both in prose and in verse. The following is a specimen of the poetry: —

*With courage bold Miller through Seas doth venter,
To toyl it out in the great Western wast,
Thy stature low one object high doth center;
Higher than Heaven thy faith on Christ is plac't:*

(Chap. XI. p. 131.)

In the year 1642 letters were received from Virginia setting forth the great need of ministers in that distant colony. The communications were treated with much formality and gravity, and were read publicly on a lecture-day. In view of the statements made in the letters, the elders appointed a time for their special consideration; and the legislature voted that, if the churches consent, the magistrates would recommend the missionaries to the government of Virginia. After careful deliberation, Mr. Miller was appointed with two other ministers; but he was forced to decline the invitation, on account of bodily infirmities.

Mr. Miller's name appears in the list of grantees of Newbury, December 7, 1642. A lot of land in Rowley was granted him in January, 1643-44, which indicates that his ministry may have still continued in that town. From Row-

ley he moved to Yarmouth, where he was the settled minister, though the exact date of his removal is not known. His daughter, Susannah, was born at Yarmouth, May 2, 1647; and he undoubtedly was living there at this time. He was probably the Mr. John Miller who was made a free-man of Plymouth Colony June 1, 1658. In the summer of 1662 he was a member of the council that convened at Barnstable to consider the case of John Smith and others who had seceded from the Barnstable church. It is not known exactly when Mr. Miller came to Groton; but probably some time during 1662, as in that year the town voted to build a house for the minister.

His wife, Lydia, had previously died in Boston, August 7, 1658, leaving a large family of children, one of whom, John, was born in England. Mr. Miller was a man of decided literary attainments, and a devoted servant of Christ.

In less than ten days after Mr. Miller's death the town voted to invite the Reverend Samuel Willard to be their minister. The vote was as follows: —

[Ju]ne 21 [16]63 Its agreed by the Towne & manifested by vote that M^r Willard if he accept of it shall be their minester as long as he liues w^c M^r Willard accepts Except a manifest providenc of God appears to take him off

These persons folloing doe desent from this former vot. Richard. Sawtell. Samuell Woods. James Parker: John Nutting James ffiske

Its agreed by the major part of the Towne that M^r Willard shall haue their interest in the house &. lands that was devoted by the Towne for the ministry suckcessively. provided they may meete in the house on the lords day &. vpon other ocasions of the Towne on metings. And these persons ffollowing desent from their act

James Parker Ric. Sawtell Willia^m Longley John nutting Tho. Tarbole. Jun.

Richard Blood and John Clary att present

James ffiske. John longley. Joh laran[ce] Joseph laranc.

It was then the custom throughout the Colony to settle a minister for life; and it was not supposed that a town could prosper without a regular pastor, which accounts for the

promptness in choosing Mr. Willard. He was a recent graduate of Harvard College, and was just entering upon his chosen profession. At the outset there was some opposition to him on the part of a few men, but this subsequently disappeared. It reached its height in the course of a few weeks, when there was much asking of mutual forgiveness, as may be inferred from the records, which are in part destroyed, though enough remains to show this fact. The imperfect records read thus:—

[Date torn off.]

. . . to excercise am . . . all Edification in the ways . . . glory & o^r owne everlasting goo . . . vs And further desiring y^e Lord to . . . what hath been herein any way off[ensive] vnto him and to help euery one of vs to forg[et] & forgiue what hath been any way offensiue [to] each other as we desire the Lord to forgiue vs

The opposers, to whom the dissension was due, may have thought that he was too young and ill-suited to lead a flock amid the dangers and hardships of frontier life. Their fears, however, proved groundless: he showed himself on all occasions to be equal to the emergency, and in after-life attained a high degree of distinction. At the next meeting his salary was agreed upon as follows:—

[Sept.] 10 1: It is agreed by y^e Consent of the Towne & manifested by vote that M^r Willard shall haue for this year forty pounds and if God be pleased so to despose of his & our hearts to continue together after the expiration of the yeare (w[e] hope) by o^r aproving of him & he of vs we shall we shall [*sic*] be willing to ad vnto his maintenanc as [God] shall blesse vs. expecting allso that he shall render vnto our pouerty if God shall please to deny a blessing vpon our labours

2. It is agreed & voted his yeare shall begin the first day of July last past.

It would seem from this vote that Mr. Willard entered upon the cares and duties of his ministerial life on the first day of July, 1663, only three weeks after Mr. Miller's death. It is probable that the minister's house at this time was finished, and Mr. Willard living in it, and preaching there on

Sundays. Not unlikely in pleasant weather he would stand in the doorway and exhort his hearers outside; and when it was stormy they would crowd inside, listening with the same attention. We can imagine how it would try the patience of a good housekeeper to do the necessary cleaning after such a promiscuous gathering. At that time Mr. Willard had not entered upon those matrimonial relations which he took upon himself soon afterward, and there was consequently no Mrs. Willard to look after the minister's house and keep it in order. In this emergency the town passed the following vote: —

Sept. 21 63 It is agreed by ye Towne wth John Nuttin & voted that he the said John shall keepe cleane the meeting house this ye[ar] or cause it to be kept cleene & for his labour he is to h[ave] fourteen shillings

In the mean time Mr. Willard was giving satisfaction to the town, all opposition to him having apparently ceased. Although there had been preaching here for two years, it would seem, from an entry in the Roxbury church records, that a church had not been regularly established. It is as follows: —

July. 13. [1664.] A church gathered at Groyton & Mr Willard ordained

The distinction is purely technical, and relates solely to matters of ecclesiastical government and congregational polity. The Puritans laid great stress on questions of this kind, and until a church was gathered the seals or sacraments could not be administered. During these two years of preaching the Lord's Supper was never celebrated, and children were taken elsewhere to be baptized. This would make July 13, 1664, the date of the organization of the first church at Groton, as well as of the first ordination.

A few weeks after this time, Mr. Willard took a young wife, Abigail Sherman by name, the daughter of the Reverend John Sherman, who was the minister of Watertown. She lightened the labors of her husband, and made herself useful and beloved in the neighborhood. In the summer of

1665, — the exact date of the record being torn off, — Mr. Willard's salary was increased by ten pounds, a heavy tax at that time; and his family was also increased by about the same amount, his eldest child being born on July 5. The record reads thus: —

It was . . . of Mr Willerde our . . . declared by voate y^t our time of . . . yerly so longe as god shall please to . . . gether shall begine and ende vpon the 29 [d]ay of september

It is furthermor agreed and declared by voate y^t M^r Willerde shall be alowed in consideration of his labours amonste vs this next yere Inseui[ng] the full pposion of fiteye pounds to be payd by euery Inhabetant acordinge to his pposion and as nere as may be in y^t which his nessety requir[es] and furthermor in consideration of the tim being betwene the furste of July laste past and y^e last of september next we do herby agree and promise vnto him y^t we will paye him twenty pounds for the first thirde parte of tim at or befor the last of september next and twenty pounds mor at or befor the furste of May next and twenty too pounds and 10 shilings more at or before the last of september next after which will be in y^e yere 1666.

The visible church in the wilderness was now beginning to prosper. It was outgrowing the accommodations furnished by the minister's house, and something larger than an ordinary dwelling was needed. For a long time it must have been a matter of much thought, and the great question of the day among all classes of this little community. Finally the matter culminated in the following vote: —

At a town metting vpon The 21 of the 7 moth 1665 It was this Day agrēd and voated y^t they will haue a metting house bult forthw[ith.]

It was this day agreed and by voate declard y^t Sargent James Parker and Richerd Blood shall make the couenenant with the carpenders for the caring one the worke puided y^t noe other pay shall be Requird of any man puided he will pay his proposon in his labour giung the carpenders a wekes warnig

A few weeks later we find in the records the following contract, made between the town and Mr. Willard, and duly signed by the different persons whose names are affixed: —

16 of the 10 moth 1665 It was this day agreed and by a vnanams voatte declared y^t for as much as god by his guidance haue setteled Mr Willerd our Rauerante Pastor by sole[mn] Ingeagment amunst vs we do therf[ore] frely giue him y^t acomadatione formerle stated to the minestry to gether with the house and all other apartanances apertayni[ng] ther vnto to him and his for eur from this day forth puided he do contineue with vs from this day forth till seaue[n] yers be xpired. But in cause he shall se cause to remoue from vs be for the seauen yers be xpired it is ag[reed] by our Rauerant paster one one par[t] and the town one the other y^t he shall leaue thes holle acomadatione to the town and be aloued what it shall be Judged by Indeferant men mutally ch[osen] on both parteys and so the hous and lan[d] to Remayn the towns to despose of haung aloued as aforsayd for what improument he haue made vpon it But if it shall pleas god to take him by death then the house and land . . . to his eayers frely for euer and hervnto we do enterchangeably sett to our hands the day and yer aboue wretten

SAM^{LL} WILLARD

JAMES PARKER
WILLIAM LAKIN
JAMES KNOP

In the name and with the consent of the towne

In the summer of 1666 Mr. Willard's salary was again increased; and at the same meeting several votes are recorded in relation to the meeting-house.

at a generall town meeting held 26 [probably 5th month, 1666.] . . . It was agreed and declared by vote that our re[ver-
end] Pastor Mr Willard should haue sixty pounds al[lowed] him for this year Ensuing: beginning at the 29 of Semptember 1666:

And also euery inhabited, is hereby ingaged to pay vnto our reuerent Pastor the third pt. of his pption in merchantable corne at price currant and also to cutt and Car[t] to his house and there to Cord for him the aforesaid 30 cord of wood at fīue shilling p cord, betwixt this & the 25th 10^m

Att the same meetinge, Nathaniell Lawrenc and Samuell Woods now agreed with to lay the planks vpon the meeting and to do them sufficiently, and they are to haue 4 s 6:d p 000 alowed them in the meeting rate

Att the same meeting, James Knapp & Ellis [Barron] were agreed with to make 2 doores for the meeting house & to mak 2 p of stares for 1[£]: and to lay the vpper floure for 4^s 6

At the same meating Will Greene and Joshua Whittney where cohosen, to he[lp] the Glassiar Goodm[an] Grant to bring vp his glasse and to be allowed for their tim in the meeting house rate

In December, 1666, "a true account" in detail of the cost of the meeting-house was rendered, giving the sum total of the expense up to that time. In modern phrase, we should say that the building committee made a report, giving the items of the cost, — although it was not signed by any of the members. It is as follows: —

A true account of all the pticuler soms of all the work done to the meeting house frame and other charges as nailes hookes & hinges glasse and pulpitt et:

Inpr for Thatch	5	0	0
It to John morsse for thathing and getting withs	1	13	0
It for wages for those did attend the thatcher	5	14	8
It carting clay & stones for daw[b]ing the wall & under pinning	3	0	0
It the dawbing of meeting house walls	4	12 ^s	6
It laths and nailing on	2	0	0
It for nailes	3	12	3
It for nailling on the clap bords	7	10	8
It for getting the sleepers and laying of them	1	4	0
It for planks 600 & halfe	2	18	6
It fo seanson bords 700 & 5 foot	2	12	10
It for laying of the lower flore at 4 ^s 6 ^d p 000	1	8	2
It making doores and two payres of stares	1	0	0
It for laying 40382 of bords on the gallery floors	2	0	0
It for shutts for the windows and making p'uison for M ^r Willard to preach till we haue a pulpitt	0	10	0
It making a pulpitt	3	0	0
It for glass for the windows	3	5	0
It for 200 of bords and more nails and more work done by carting & laying seats &c	1	8	0
	<hr/>		
	50	16	10

The meeting-house was now built and ready for use. I doubt if there was a person in the town who rejoiced more at this result than Mrs. Willard; and her congratulations to the minister and brethren must have been hearty and sincere. In housewifely language, homely but expressive, there was to be no more tracking in of mud on Sundays, and no more cleaning, after a hard day's washing, on Mondays.

There was no dedication of the building, for this would have been contrary to the usages of the Puritans. They never indulged in such ceremonies; and if the town had then erected these historical monuments they never would have had the exercises of this afternoon. Perhaps some of you may think that it would have been wiser if this generation had acted in the same way. It is not unlikely, however, that Mr. Willard took a suggestive text and preached an appropriate sermon on the first Sunday that the building was used; but of this there is no record. I hold in my hand, however, a little volume* containing three sermons which were preached there by Mr. Willard at other times. It is entitled, —

* This copy has a special interest for me, as it once belonged to a reverend ancestor of mine, and bears his autograph signature on the title-page. It came into my possession very lately, after being out of the family for more than one hundred and eighty years.

VSEFVL INSTRUCTION

for a professing People in Times of great

SECURITY AND DEGENERACY:

Delivered in several

S E R M O N S

on Solemn Occasions:

By Mr. *Samuel Willard* Pastor of the Church of Christ
at *Groton*.

CAMBRIDGE:

Printed by Samuel Green.

1 6 7 3.

It is a book of exceeding rarity, — only three copies are known to be extant, — and it forms the only relic which time has spared of the first meeting-house of Groton. It suggests many a contrast between that dreary and unfinished building where our fathers met for worship, and this spacious and commodious hall where we are now assembled.

Like all meeting-houses of that period of which we have any record, this structure was probably square or nearly so, and, as we have reason to suppose, measured about forty feet each way. It was two stories in height, and had two doors. The roof was thatched, and probably a steep one. The front gallery was on the north side of the house, so that the building must have been on the south side of the road, and faced the north. This confirms the theory that it stood on Mr. Boutwell's land. There were also galleries on the east and west sides of the building, and the pulpit was placed in the south end. The window-panes were small, and probably of diamond shape. There was, we may suppose, an hour-glass near the pulpit, which Goodman Allen, the sex-

Saml Buell 1783
USEFUL INSTRUCTIONS
for a professing People in Times of great
SECURITY AND DEGENERACY:

Delivered in several
S E R M O N S
on Solemn Occasions:

Nath^l Huntington & Dono amici Jos. Green
214 April. 1835.

By Mr. Samuel Willard Pastor of the Church of Christ
at Groton.

Ezek. 3. 17. Son of Man, I have made thee a Watchman to the House of Israel: therefore hear the Word at my mouth, and give them warning from me.

Amos 3. 8. The Lord God hath spoken, who can but Prophecy?

Jer. 2. 31. O Generation, See ye the Word of the Lord: have I been a wilderness unto Israel? a Land of darkness? wherefore say my People, we are Lords, we will come no more unto thee.

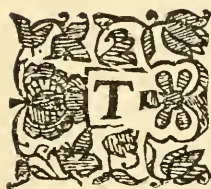
Haggai. 1. 5. 7. Thus saith the Lord, Consider your ways.

CAMBRIDGE:
Printed by Samuel Green.

1 6 7 3



To his Beloved Friends the Inhabitants of
G R O T O N.



That it was not a desire to appear in publick, but to answer your requests, gave light to the ensuing Sermons, ye are my witnesses, and that in the publishing of them, I have not endeavoured to varnish and paint them over with flourish of men-pleasing words; the thing it self may speak; in the reading you shall finde nothing but what was delivered in Preaching. Touching the occasion of them I need not advertise you, you may well enough call to minde, the loud voice of speaking providences, which forbade me in such a day to be silent: The sad hand of God which was upon the poor possessed Creature, which produced that on Isai. 26. 9. hath sounded through this Wilderness, but you were eye witnesses of it; the Lord affect your hearts, and give you to learn righteousness. The other two were also upon solemn Occasions, the hand of God upon this Land, and us in particular, bids Ministers to cry aloud; the Lord God hath spoken, who can but Prophecie? I know mans corruption is not willing to be closely dealt withal, but I hope many of you have not so learned Christ. My hearts desire and prayer for you is, that you may be prepared for shaking times, and the nearer they approach the more need have we to be haltened and roused from our loytering. If these poor labours of mine, may help in that great business, I have my ends fully answered; and my desire for you is, that those affections may be blown up again in the reading which were kindled in the preaching; I know I have but a while to be among you, if God please to make me by these, or any other weak endeavours, to be under him instrumental of your eternal good, I shall dye with joy; and so meet you all at the right hand of our Judge in that great day, is the highest ambition of

Your unworthy Minister.

ton, watched and turned when the sand had run out. There was no ponderous Bible on the preacher's desk, as the reading of the Scriptures formed no part of the regular worship. With this exception, the order of services on the Lord's day was about the same as it is at the present time. The prayers were of an almost interminable length; and the singing, doubtless from the Bay Psalm Book, was done by the congregation. The only instrument used was the pitch-pipe of the leader, who lined off the psalms to be sung by the singers. What was wanting in harmony was made up by fervent devotion. The Groton Musical Association, I fear, would find much to criticise in the musical method of that day. However much it may have fallen short of scientific tests, it inspired a religious zeal, and added a pious fervor to the exercises.

It was the custom in the early days of New England life to choose a committee "to seat the meeting-house," as it was called; which meant to assign the seats to the congregation during a certain length of time. This was done every year or two, to meet the changes that would naturally take place from death or other causes. The seats consisted of long benches with backs, capable of accommodating six or eight persons. The men were placed on one side of the house, and the women on the other; and sometimes the young folks had special places given to them. Separate pews for families had not yet come into use. The seating committee was considered an important one, but their decisions were not always satisfactory. The seats in the Groton meeting-house, however, were allotted by the town; although in the record of the meeting on November 11, 1667, there is a reference to a seating committee. Two public meetings, only one week apart, were held when they were assigned, "according to a rulle of proportion," as the expression was at a subsequent meeting. In the second Groton meeting-house, built but not finished in the year 1680, the seats were assigned, first, according to station or "ofis"; secondly, according to age; and, thirdly, wealth or "money." The votes at these two meetings were as follows:—

Att a Town mee[tin]g held 24 10^m [1666.]

It was agreed & by vote Declared y^t all the lower seates in the new meeting house that now is: should be deuided six for men & six for women, And also the two front seats of the Gallery: the best prouision that the town can prouide both for the Minister and also for the people to sit upon, against the next Lords Day come seauenight and eury one to be placed in their places as they shall continue for the future

Att a Generall Town meeting held 31th 10^m 1666 ffor better pceeding in settling seates for the women as well as for men It was agreed & by vote declared that the ffront Gallery on the north side of the meeting house should be devided in the midle; and the mens that shall be placed there; their wiues are to be placed by their husbands as they are below

It appears from the following entry that Mr. Willard's salary was continued during another year. A part of it was to be paid in "country pay," according to the custom of that time, and the prices for the different articles of food seem to be fair. They are based on the silver money of that period, paper currency not yet having come into circulation.

Att a generall Towns meeting held 10th 9^m 1667 It was agreed and by vote declared to giue vnto Mr Willard our pastor for his maintenance for this present yeare beginning the 29th 7^m should haue sixty pounds, to be paid at two payments the one halfe to be paid into to him, betwixt this and the last of March next: and the other half of the pay to be paid vnto him by the last of September next after the date hereof. And for quality; the major p^t of the Towne agreed y^t one third p^t each inhabitant shloud pay his third p^t of his proportion; in wheat at 5^s p bushell or porke a[t] 3 pence p pound or butter at 6 pence p pound fo . . . thirds in Indian corne at 3^s p bushelle: or other . . . at the price currant as it passeth betwixt . . . amongst ourseleues.

This meeting seems to have been adjourned; at any rate, another meeting was held the next day. Timothy Allen, the sexton, lived near to the meeting-house, which was, perhaps, one reason why he was chosen to the office.

Att a generall Towns meetting held 11th 9^{moth} 1667 The towne agreed with Thimothy Allen to swe[ep] the meetinge house & to guide water ffor the babtizing of the townes children from time to time, for this yeare ensuing, and the s^d Thimothy allen is to haue twenty shillings allowed him for his labor in the next townes rate

At the same meetinge it was agreed that the seats in the meetinge should be mad in a pleaine and desent and comly manner, and euery seuerall company (that ar now present inhabitants and as they are now placed by the towne and the Committey formerly chosen,) they should build their seats at their owne charge, And all the fronteers both aboue and below, shall be at the charge of the laying the foundation sills for the seates that are behind them; And what euer any maior p^t of any company that are placed together in any seat shall agre to build their seats the minor are hereby inioyned to pay with their neighbors and it was further agreed that whereas the seates are larger than the present inhabitants do fill vp then when any shall placed hereafter in any seate or seates y^t then they are hereby enioyned to pay an equall pportion to be & with those that haue laid down the pay for the building of the seates

In order to keep complete the historical chain of facts, I make the following extracts from the town records, which comprise everything found there relating to the minister or the meeting-house, from this time to the destruction of the town: —

The: 8 of the 10 moth [1668.] It was this day voted by the mayior part of the towne that the minist[er have] sixty fue pounds for this yeare beginning the twenty nine of September 68 shall shall [*sic*] be Raysed the one halfe vpon the Accomdations and the other halfe vpon all the visible estat of the towne will longley Richard blood and sum others declaring the Contrarie by voyt

[1669.]

it was voted that our pastors maintenance should be Raysed the one halfe vpon the Acomidations and the other halfe vpon the visible estat of the towne and the sum to be sixtie fue pounds as followeth

first to pay 30 pounds in Corne and tenn pounds in provision and what is wanting in provision to be payd in Corne and . . . tewnty fue pounds to be payd in . . . seasonnablye or other- wayes in Corne

[December 15, 1669.]

[At] the same meeting were chosen [John P]age and John Nutting by the [town] to see that Mr Willard haue maintenance duely and truly payd him and that they bring the towne a generall acquittance :

Agreed with Timothy Allen for the keeping the meeting house cleane for twenty shillings and to be payd in his town charges

At a generall towne meeting 12 of the 11th month 1669 agreed vpon voted and agreed vpon that all publik charges excepting the ministers shold be raised vpon the accomedations till the towne see good to repeall it

At a generall towne meeting Novem 1 [1]670 It is this day agreed vpon and voted that Mr Willards maintenance and all other Towne charges shalbe raised for this present yeare the one halfe vpon accomodations and the other halfe vpon visible estate

At the same meeting agreed vpon that Mr. Willard should haue sixty five pound for this present yeare and a sixth pt shalbe payd in flesh provision that is to say in merchantable pork beef butter and cheese betwixt this and chrismas merchantable wheat five shill per bush barley 4s per bush rye 4s pease 4s and Indian cor[n] flesh meat to be payd . . . per pound and butter at 6 . . .

[December 12, 1670.]

At the same meeting agreed with Timothy Allen to keep the meeting housse cleane for this following year for twenty shill — 1 0 0.

[February 27, 1670-71.]

Also agreed vpon at the same meeting that all thos seats that are yet to build in the meeting house shalbe built in a generall way also a committee chussen to treat with thomas Boydon to build them (viz) Sergent James Parker corporall Knop John Pag Ellis Barron and Nathaniell lawrance

At a Generall towne meeting held October 16 1671 This day agreed vpon by the towne and voted that Mr Willard shall haue sixty fve for this year ensueing and that he shall hau his wholl yeares pay by the latter end of december and the maner of his pay as followeth one third p^t of his pay in prouision and english corne and those that cannot pay in prouision and in english corne they are to pay their Indian corne at two shill and three pence the bushell soe as to answer that third p^t of their pay which was to be payd in English corn and prouision and the rest of their pay they are to pay at prise currant (that is) their Indian corne — 3^s per bush wheat at 5^s per bush^{ell} — pease Rye barley at 4^s per bush and pork and beeffe at 3^d per pond and for the maner of their payment to be raised as it was the last year the one half vpon the accommodations and the other vpon the estate.

At the same meeting were chusen Sergent william lakin and nathaniell lawrance and that they shall se that Mr Willards pay shalbe brought in and faithfully payd to him according to the agreement of the towne

At a Towne meeting held Sept 16 1672 It was agreed vpon and by vote declared that their shalbe a committee chusen by the towne which Committee shall haue power to seat euery man according to their best discretion and that euery man shall pay to the value of the seat they sit in the seates also beeing valued according to their proportion and disproportion by this committee chussen and the committee chussen and the names of the men are these

Sergent Parker	}	and	{	James knop	}
Sergent Lakin				John Morsse	
Tho= Tarball					

Att a generall Towne meeting held Octo 14 1672 It was this day agreed vpon and by vote declared that Mr Willard shall haue for this present year eighty pound and the maner of his pay as followeth a third part of his pay a followeth In english corne and prouision wheat at five shil p bushell Rye barley and pease at four shill pr bushell pork and beeffe at 3^d p pound and all such as cannot pay his third part of his pay in english corn and prouision they shall pay In Indian corn at 2 shill p bushell and the remainder of his pay In Indian Corn at 3 shill p bushell his fire wood also above his eighty pound

and further these persons here set downe doe promise and Ingage to git Mr Willard hay mowing making and fetching home for eight shilling p load at a seasonable time (viz) in the midle of July

Sergent Parker	}	and	Timothy Allen
Rich= Blood			Ellis Barron
James ffiske			Thomas Smith
Tho= Tarball Se			John Morsse
sergent Lakin			Joseph gilson
Rich= holden			Pelleg Lawrance

At the same meeting and by vote declared that Major Willard shalbe a fre commoner amongst vs for feed for cattell wood and timber

At a generall towne meeting held The 7th of the 9th month 1672 It was this day agreed vpon and by vote declared that all Inhabitans in the towne shalbe seated in the meeting house according to a rulle of proportion impartially (by the towne or by a committee chussen by the towne) according to their best discretion and the seates to be valued and each man to pay according to the seat they sit in and they are to place in the seats below in the body of the meeting house sixe persons in a seate and to fill vp the first and second seat first and to sit fiu persons vnder the window and five persons in a seat in the front gallery and eight persons in a seat in the east and west gallery — the persons that are first to be seated are married persons and also such single persons as may and ought according to a rulle of proportion be seated with them and the other young persons to be seated till they have filled vp all the seates that are already builded and all such persons as want seates after this done they haue liberty granted to them by the towne at the sam meeting to build them themselves or their parents for them at their owne cost and charge in such a place or places as are thought most meete and convenient by the towne and those that are to build them and the towne haue voted to submit to the comitees order herein

and the committee chussen by the towne at the same time the persons are as followethe

Sergent Parker	}	and	James Knop
Richard Blood			John Morsse
Joseph Parker			

At a Generall towne meeting held Nouember 13 1672 It was this day agreed vpon and by vote declared that the remainder of the pay that is still behind for the building the seates in the meeting house shalbe raised in a generall way notwithstanding all other actes done to the contrary either by towne or commitee
William Longley seni descenting

At a meeting of the select men no 13 72 A Towne rate made for the defraying of seuerall towne depts and put into the constables hand to gather (viz)

for shuts for the windows of the meeting house 1 0 0

At a Generall towne meeting held Janevary 13 1672 This day agreed vpon and by vot declared that their shalbe a commit chossen for to seat the persons in the meeting house according to their best discretion and at the sam time a commitee chossen and their names are thess

Maior Willard	}	and	{	sergent Lakin
Sergent Parker				John Lakin
James ffiske				

At a meeting of the select men febr 26 72 Agreed vpon by the select men that this division of land which is granted by the towne to the seuerall Inhabitants shalbe as followeth by proportion their shalbe one acre to one shill= disbursement in mr Willards Rat and we doe also agree that of this land that was prohibited shalbe only Indian hill and the hill behind Nath= Lawrances

and we doe further agree that euery Inhabitant shall haue an equall proportion in these lands according to disbursements in mr Willard rat and for the rest of their proportion shalbe else wheir wheir [*sic*] it is most convenient for them either Joyning to their medowes or of Oake land on this sid the Riuer

only Mr Willard shall haue a proportion to a forty shilling disbursement — the town consenting here to

At a Generall Towne meeting held no: 19 1673 This day agreed vpon and by vote declared that Mr Willard rat shalbe raised ptly by vissible estat and partly by accommodations what-soeuer votes hau past formerly to the contrary as also it was agreed vpon that euery man hence forward shall haue their draughts of land according to their disbursements and those y^t

haue them not shall haue them mad vp and that he shall haue eighty pound for this present yeare and a fourth part of this payment to be payd in money and the other sixty pound to be payd in all sorts of graine at price currant as the court haue determined and in prouision — and ten pound for his firewood which is to be payd in by tim preffixd and if not then to pay their proportion in corne or prouision and also agreed vpon that this twenty pound in money is to be payd in to Cap^t Parker and to Richard Blood by th last of August or the first of septem= next — as also henceforward he shall haue a quarter of his payment in money yearly

At a Generall Town meeting held October 20 1675 Agreed vpon and by vote declared that our Reuerand Pastor shall haue eighty pound for this present year sixty l in Corne and prwisi[ons] forty pound of it to be payd betwixt this and y^e twenty fiue of December next ensueing and the other 20l to be payd in the spring of the yeare vnlesse god by some speciall prouidence Doe preuent and the other 20l to be payd in money the last of august or the first of september in the year 1676

and 40 cord of wood to be proportioned according to euery mans proportion to be caryed in now pressently

At a Generall Towne meeting held no= 8 1675 It was this day agreed vpon and by vote declared that their should be a committe chussen to treat with Mr willard about sending down to the generall court to Enforme and supplicat to them that we may haue payd to vs what is our due from the countrey and also that the Billit of the souldiers may be vpon the countreys account and also agreed vpon that if this would not doe for to stand it out at law with them

and the committee chussen was Cap^t Parker Leiftenant Lakin William Longley seni= John Page

Nearly one-and-twenty years had passed since the little settlement in the wilderness was begun, and it was fast approaching its majority. The new town had enjoyed a moderate share of prosperity, and was slowly working out its destiny. The founders were poor in this world's goods, but rich in faith and courage. They had now tasted the hardships of frontier life, but not as yet felt the horrors of savage warfare. The distant thunders of a threatening storm were

beginning to be heard, and the occasional flashes put the early settlers on their guard. Philip's War had broken out, and the outlying settlements were exposed to new dangers. The inhabitants of this town took such precautions as seemed needful, and trusted in Providence for the rest. They were just beginning to prepare for the work of another season, when a small band of prowling Indians alarmed the town by pillaging eight or nine houses and driving off some cattle. This occurred on March 2, 1676, and probably was a sufficient warning to send the inhabitants to the garrison-houses, whither they were wont to flee in time of danger. These places of refuge were usually houses surrounded by a strong wall of stone or timber built up as high as the eaves, with a gate-way, and port-holes for the use of musketry.

In Groton there were five such garrison-houses, and under their protection many a sleepless, anxious night was passed by the inmates. Four of these houses were very near each other, and the fifth was nearly a mile away. The sites of some of them are well known. One was Mr. Willard's house, which stood near the site of the High School; another was Captain Parker's house, which stood just north of the hall in which we are now assembled; and a third was John Nutting's house, on the other side of James's Brook. The fourth was probably north of John Nutting's, but perhaps south of Mr. Willard's. There is a tradition that one stood near the house formerly owned and occupied by the late Eber Woods, which would make the fifth garrison-house "near a mile distant from the rest."

It is recorded in the inventory of his estate, on file in the Middlesex Probate Office at East Cambridge, that Timothy Cooper,* of Groton, was "Sleine by the Indeins the Second day of march 1675-6." Cooper was an Englishman by birth, and lived, probably, somewhere between the present site of the Baptist meeting-house and the beginning of Farmers' Row. It is not known that there was other loss of

* John Cooper, of Weston Hall, England, in his will, written November 21, 1654, and proved the next year, mentions his "brother Timothy Cooper now in New England," with children. The will is on file in the Registry of Probate, London.

life at this time; but the affair was serious enough to alarm the inhabitants. They sought refuge immediately in the garrison-houses, as the Indians were lurking in the neighborhood. On March 9, the savages again threatened the beleaguered town, and, by a cunningly contrived ambush, managed to entrap four men at work, of whom one was killed and one captured, while the other two escaped. This second assault must have produced great alarm and consternation among the people of the town. The final and principal attack, however, came on the 13th, when the enemy appeared in full body, thought to be not less than four hundred in number. The inhabitants at this time all were gathered into the several garrison-houses for protection. During the previous night the savages scattered throughout the town, and the first volley of shot on the morning of the 13th was the signal for the general burning of the town; and in this conflagration the first meeting-house of Groton was destroyed. With its thatched roof it must have burned quickly. In a very short time nothing was left but a heap of smoking embers. Although it had never been formally dedicated to religious worship, it had been consecrated in spirit to the service of God by the prayers of the minister and the devotion of the congregation. In this assault John Nutting's garrison was taken by stratagem. The men defending it had been drawn out by two Indians apparently alone, when the savages in ambush arose, and killed one of the men, probably John Nutting himself, and wounded three others. At the same time the garrison-house, now defenceless, was attacked in the rear and the palisades pulled down, allowing the enemy to take possession. The women and children, comprising those of five families, escaped to Captain Parker's house, situated just this side of the brook and north of this building.

There is a tradition, which is entitled to credence, that John Nutting was killed while defending his log-house fort during Philip's War. His wife's name appears a few months later in the Woburn town records as "Widow Nutting," which is confirmatory of the tradition.

The Indians were a cowardly set, and never attacked in open field. They never charged on works in regular column, but depended rather on craft or cunning to defeat their adversary. The red "hellhounds" — as they were sometimes called by our pious forefathers — were always ready to attack women and children, but afraid to meet men. The inhabitants of the town were now safely and securely housed, and were masters of the situation. The enemy could do little more than to taunt and jeer them from time to time with insulting remarks. The main body of the savages passed the following night in "an adjacent valley," which cannot now be identified, but some of them lodged in the garrison-house which they had taken; and the next morning, after firing two or three volleys at Captain Parker's house, they departed. They carried off a prisoner, — John Morse, the town-clerk, — who was ransomed a short time afterward. The following reference to him in an undated letter, written by the Reverend Thomas Cobbet to the Reverend Increase Mather, shows very nearly the time of his release: —

May y^e 12th Good wife Diuens and Good wife Kettle vpon ransom paid, came into concord. & vpon like ransom presently [a]fter John Moss of Groton & leiftenant Carlors Daughter of Lancaster, were set at liberty & 9 more w^tout ransom: (Mather Manuscripts in the Prince Collection, at the Boston Public Library, i. 76.)

The ransom for John Morse was paid by John Hubbard, of Boston, and amounted to "about five pounds." Morse's petition to the Council to have Hubbard reimbursed is found in the Archives (lxix. 48) at the State House.

The population of Groton at the time of its destruction was about three hundred inhabitants. The Reverend William Hubbard, in his Narrative, printed in the year 1677, estimates the number of families at sixty, and five persons to a family may be considered a fair average. The same authority says that there were forty dwelling-houses, besides other buildings, burned in this assault, and only fourteen or fifteen houses left standing.

Fortunately the loss of life or limb on the part of the inhabitants of the town was small, and it is not known that more than three persons were killed — of whom one was Timothy Cooper, and another, without doubt, John Nutting — and three wounded; two were made prisoners, of whom one escaped from the savages and reached Lancaster, and the other, John Morse, was ransomed.

The lot of these early settlers was, indeed, hard and bitter; they had seen their houses destroyed and their cattle killed, leaving them nothing to live on. Their alternative now was to abandon the plantation, which they did with much sadness and sorrow. The settlement was broken up, and the inhabitants scattered in different directions among their friends and kindred. During the next autumn John Monaco, — or one-eyed John, as he was sometimes called, — the chief leader in the assault, was brought to the gallows in Boston, where he suffered the extreme penalty of the law.

In the early spring of 1678, just two years after the attack, the old settlers returned to re-establish the town. Undaunted by their bitter experience, they came back to begin life anew in the wilderness, with all its attendant hardships. It does not appear that the inhabitants were molested by the Indians during this period to any great degree, but they were by no means leading lives of ease or security. At times troops were stationed here by the Colonial authorities for the protection of the town; and the orders and counter-orders to the small garrison tell too well that danger was threatening. In the mean while King William's War broke out; and this time the enemy had material and sympathetic aid from the French in Canada. The second attack on the town came in the summer of 1694, and the accounts of it I prefer to give in the words of contemporaneous writers. Sometimes there are discrepancies in such accounts; but, as a whole, they constitute the best authority.

Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia*, thus refers to it: —

Nor did the Storm go over so: Some Drops of it fell upon the Town of *Groton*, a Town that lay, one would think, far enough off the Place where was the last Scene of the *Tragedy*.

On *July 27*. [1694,] about break of Day *Groton* felt some surprizing Blows from the *Indian Hatchets*. They began their Attacks at the House of one Lieutenant *Lakin*, in the Out-skirts of the *Town*; but met with a Repulse there, and lost one of their Crew. Nevertheless, in other Parts of that Plantation, (where the good People had been so tired out as to lay down their *Military Watch*) there were more than Twenty Persons killed, and more than a Dozen carried away. Mr. *Gershom Hobart*, the Minister of the Place, with part of his Family, was Remarkably preserved from falling into their Hands, when they made themselves the Masters of his House; though they Took Two of his Children, whereof the one was Killed, and the other some time after happily Rescued out of his Captivity. (Book vii. page 86.)

Charlevoix, a French missionary in Canada, gives from his own standpoint another version, as follows:—

The Abénaqui chief was Taxous, already celebrated for many exploits, and commendable attachment to our interests. This brave man, not satisfied with what he had just so valiantly achieved, chose forty of his most active men, and, after three days' march, by making a long circuit, arrived at the foot of a fort [at Groton] near Boston, and attacked it in broad day. The English made a better defence than they did at Pescadoué [Piscataqua]. Taxous had two of his nephews killed by his side, and himself received more than a dozen musket balls in his clothes, but he at last carried the place, and then continued his ravages to the very doors of the capital. ("History of New France," iv. 257, Shea's edition.)

The following reference to the assault is found in the report, made October 26, 1694, by M. Champigny to the Minister Pontchartrain. The original document is in the Archives of the Marine and Colonies at Paris; and I am indebted to Mr. Parkman, the distinguished historian, for a copy of it.

These Indians did not stop there; four parties of them have since been detached, who have been within half a day's journey of Boston [*i. e.*, at Groton], where they have killed or captured more than sixty persons, ravaged and pillaged every thing

they found, which has thrown all the people into such consternation that they are leaving the open country to seek refuge in the towns.

A "Relation" of an expedition by Villieu also mentions the assault. A copy of the paper is found among the Archives at the State House, in the volume marked "Documents collected in France" (iv. 260, 261). The writer gives the date of the attack some days later than is usually assigned. He says:—

On the 30, the Indians of the Penobscot, not having taken as many prisoners and as much booty as those of the Kennebec, because they had not found enough to employ themselves; at the solicitation of Villieu and Taxous, their chief, some fifty of them detached themselves to follow this last person, who was piqued at the little that had been done. They were joined by some of the bravest warriors of the Kennebec, to go on a war party above Boston to break heads by surprise (*casser des têtes à la surprise*), after dividing themselves into several squads of four or five each, which cannot fail of producing a good effect.

Judge Sewall, in his Diary, printed in the Massachusetts Historical Collections (fifth series, v. 391), writes:—

Friday, July 27. Groton set upon by the Indians, 21 persons kill'd, 13 captivated, 13 badly wounded. About 9. night, Mr. Lodowick comes to Boston. Between 10. and 11. there is an Alarm through the Town kept up till near day-break. Mr. Brattle was arriv'd at Col. Shrimpton's, then he told me of Mr. Lodowick's unhappiness in coming just then. During the Alarm, Mr. Willard's little daughter Sarah dies, buried on Sabbath-day a little before Sunset.

The Reverend John Pike makes the following reference to the assault, in his Journal, printed in the Proceedings of the same Society, for September, 1875:—

July 27. The enemy fell upon Groton abt day-break, killed 22 persons & Captivated 13 (xiv. 128).

Governor Hutchinson, in his "History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay," published during the following century, writes:—

Having crossed Merrimack, on the 27th of July [1694,] they fell upon Groton, about 40 miles from Boston. They were repulsed at Lakin's garrison house, but fell upon other houses, where the people were off their guard, and killed and carried away from the vicinity about forty persons. Toxus's two nephews were killed by his side, and he had a dozen bullets through his blanket, according to Charlevoix, who adds, that he carried the fort or garrison and then went to make spoil at the gates of Boston; in both which facts the French account is erroneous (ii. 82).

In this assault the loss on the part of the inhabitants was considerably greater than when the town was destroyed in the former attack. It is said that the scalps of the unfortunate victims were given to Count de Frontenac, Governor of Canada. It is too late now to give the names of all the sufferers, but a few facts in regard to them may be gathered from fragmentary sources. The families that suffered the worst lived for the most part in the same general neighborhood, which was near the site of the first meeting-house. Lieutenant William Lakin's house, where the fight began, was situated in the vicinity of Chicopee Row.

The following list of casualties, in part conjectural, is given as an approximation of the loss sustained by the town:—

	Killed	Captured
John Longley's family	7	3
Rev. Mr. Hobart's "	1	1
John Shepley's "	4?	1
James Parker, Jr.'s "	2	3?
Alexander Rouse's "	2?	1

Mr. Gershom Hobart, the minister, whose house was captured in this assault, lived where the Baptist meeting-house now stands. One of his boys was killed, and another, Gershom, Jr., was carried off. There is a tradition extant that

a third child was concealed under a tub in the cellar, and thus saved from the savages. Judge Sewall writes in his Diary, under the date of May 1, 1695, that —

Mr. Hobarts son Gershom is well at a new Fort a days Journey above Nerigawag [Norridgewock], Masters name is Nassacombêwit, a good Master, and Mistress. Master is chief Captain, now Bambazeen is absent.

It is not known exactly when he was rescued from captivity, but probably not long afterwards. The inscription on the Shepley monument says that "the Indians massacred all the Sheples in Groton save a John Sheple 16 years old who the carried captive to Canada and kept him 4 years. after which he returned to Groton and from him descended all the Sheples or Shepleys in this Vicinity," but there is no record to show how many there were in this family. Mr. Butler, in his History (p. 97), makes the same statement, but does not mention any number. In this list it is placed at five, which is conjectural. Shepley lived near where the Martin's Pond road starts off from the North Common. The knowledge which the boy John obtained of their language and customs while a prisoner among the Indians was of much use to him in after-life. Tradition relates that, when buying furs and skins of them, he used to put his foot in one scale of the balance instead of a pound weight. In the summer of 1704, while he and thirteen other men were reaping in a field at Groton, they were attacked by about twenty Indians. After some skirmishing, Shepley and one of his comrades, Butterfield by name, succeeded in killing one of the assailants, for which act they each were allowed four pounds by the Government. He was the direct ancestor of the late Honorable Ether Shepley, formerly Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of Maine, and of the late General George F. Shepley, formerly a Justice of the Circuit Court of the First Circuit of the United States.

A petition to the General Court, dated May 31, 1699, and signed by Josiah Parker, says that "James Parker Jun^r Brother to yo^r humble Pet^{tr} was Killed with his Wife, sev-

eral of his Children also were then carried away Captive." The number of these children is put at three, which is also conjectural. The site of Parker's house is unknown. The late Reverend James D. Farnsworth, in a manuscript account of William Longley, now in the library of the New England Historic, Genealogical Society, says that "two of his neighbors named Rouse" were killed in the same massacre. Alexander Rouse lived in the neighborhood, and this reference is to his family. There was one "Tamasin Rouce of Grotten" received January 17, 1698-99, on board the "Province Galley" at Casco Bay; and she, doubtless, was a daughter of Alexander. (Archives, lxx. 399.) Two commissioners had been sent to Casco Bay, to make a treaty of peace with the Indians, and to bring away the captives. One of the commissioners "took certain Minutes of *Remarkable Things* from some of the Captives," and Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia*, gives his readers what he calls "a Taste of them." Mather speaks of the little girl, and says that —

Assacombuit sent *Thomasin Rouse*, a child of about Ten Years old, unto the Water-side to carry something. The Child cried: He took a Stick and struck her down: She lay for Dead: He took her up and threw her into the Water: Some Indians not far off ran in and fetch'd her out. The Child we have now brought Home with us. (Book vii. page 95.)

Among the "Nams of thos Remaining Still in hands of the french at Canada," found in a document at the State House, are those of "Lidey Langly D^o[Douer] gerl" and "Jn^o Shiply boy oy^r River." In this list the residences of both these children are incorrectly written, Lydia's being given as Dover, New Hampshire, and John's, as Oyster River. The name of Thomas Drew appears in the same list as of Groton, which is a mistake, as he was of Oyster River. (Massachusetts Archives, xxxviii. A 2.)

This expedition against Groton was planned in part by the Indians at a fort called Amsaquonte above Norridgewock, in Maine. It was arranged in the plan of operations that also Oyster River — now Durham, New Hampshire —

should be attacked on the way; and the assault on that town was made July 18, nine days before the one on Groton. At Oyster River more than ninety persons were either killed or captured; the prisoners from the two towns appear to have been taken to Maine, where they were thrown considerably together during their captivity. Governor William Stoughton issued a proclamation, January 21, 1695, wherein he refers to the "tragical outrages and barberous murders" at Oyster River and Groton. He says that several of the prisoners taken at these places "are now detained by the said Indians at Amarascoggin and other adjoining places." (Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York, ix. 613, 614.)

Hezekiah Miles, *alias* Hector, a friendly Indian, at one time a prisoner in the enemy's hands, made a deposition before the Lieutenant-Governor and Council, at Boston, May 31, 1695, stating —

that in the month of July 1694. there was a gathering of the Indians at the said new Fort [Amsaquonte] and preparations to go forth to war, and that two or three days before they intended to set out, they kild and boyld several dogs, and held a Feast, where was present Egeremet, Bomaseen, Warumbee, & Ahasombamet with divers others, of the chief among them, they discoursed of falling upon Oyster River and Groton; and Bomaseen was to command one of the Companys & the day before they intended to set forth, myself with ffour Indians more were dispatched away to Canada with a Letter from the Fryar and were upon our Voyage thither and back again about ffourtⁿ days and brought down about two barrells of powder, shot proportionable & some fire armes. About the time of our return, the Indians came in after the mischief done at Oyster River & Groton, and in particular, I saw Bomaseen in his Canoo, which was well laden, there was two English Captives, some scalps, and a large pack of Plunder brought in that Canoo, and Bomaseen two or three days after his return home went away to Canada. (Archives, viii. 39.)

Ann Jenkins, in a deposition given June 11, 1695, testifies that she was captured July 18, 1694, at Oyster River, and that she —

with nine Captiues more were Carried up to penecook & were Left with Three Indians & that party went to Groaten Boma-zeen being their Commander In nine dayes they returned & brought twelue Captiues & from thence with their Cannoes sometimes a float & sometimes Carried untill that we Came to Norridgeawocke which tooke us fifteen dayes & staid about two months there then dispersed into the woods twoe or thre families in a place & kept Removeing toe and froe staieing about a week in a place untill they brought vss down to pemaquid & delivered vss to Capt March. (Archives, viii. 40.)

I come now to the sad story of the Longley family, which is commemorated by one of the monuments dedicated to-day. William and Deliverance Longley were living, with their eight children, on a small farm perhaps a mile and a quarter from this hall, on the east side of the Hollis road. Their house was built of hewn logs, and was standing at the beginning of the present century. The old cellar, with its well-laid walls, was distinctly visible forty years ago, and traces of it could be seen even to the present time. On the fatal morning of July 27, 1694, the massacre of this family was committed. The savages appeared suddenly, coming from the other side of the Merrimack River, and began the attack at Lieutenant William Lakin's house, where they were repulsed with the loss of one of their number. They followed it up by assaulting other houses in the same neighborhood. They made quick work of it, and left the town as speedily as they came. With the exception of John Shepley's house, it is not known that they destroyed any of the buildings; but they pillaged them before they departed. They carried off thirteen prisoners, mostly children, who must have retarded their march. There is a tradition that early in the morning of the attack the Indians turned Longley's cattle out of the barn-yard into the corn-field, and then lay in ambush. The stratagem had the desired effect: Longley rushed out of the house, unarmed, in order to drive the cattle back, when he was murdered, and all his family either killed or captured. The bodies of the slain were buried in one grave a few rods northwest of the house. A small apple-

tree growing over the spot, and a stone lying even with the ground, for many years furnished the only clew to the final resting-place of this unfortunate family, but these have now disappeared.

William Longley was town-clerk in the year 1687, and also from 1692 till his death in 1694; and, only one week before he was killed, he had made entries in the town records. His father, William Longley, Sen., had also been town-clerk during the years 1666 and 1667, and died on November 29, 1680. The father was one of the earliest settlers of the town, as well as the owner of a thirty-acre right in the original Groton plantation. Lydia, John, and Betty were the names of the three children carried off by the savages, and taken to Canada. Lydia was sold to the French, and placed in the Congregation of Notre Dame, a convent in Montreal, where she embraced the Roman Catholic faith, and died on July 20, 1758, at the advanced age of eighty-four years. Betty died soon after her capture, from hunger and exposure; and John, the third child, remained with the savages for more than four years, when he was ransomed and brought away, much against his own will. At one time during his captivity he was on the verge of starving, when an Indian kindly gave him a dog's foot to gnaw, which for the time appeased his hunger. He was known among his captors as John Augary. After he came home, his sister Lydia wrote from Canada, urging him to abjure the Protestant religion; but he remained true to his early faith.

Their grandmother, the widow of Benjamin Crispe, made her will, April 13, 1698, which was admitted to probate on the 28th of the following December; and in it she remembered these absent children as follows:—

I give and bequeath Vnto my three Grand-Children y^t are in Captivity if they retorne Vizdt three books one of y^m a bible another a Sermon booke treating of faith and the other a psalme book.

The old lady herself certainly had read the "Sermon booke treating of faith," and it must have been to her a

great consolation in her trials. Fortunately for her own peace of mind she never knew that her grand-daughter had embraced the Roman Catholic faith. The knowledge of this fact would have been to her an affliction scarcely less than the massacre of her daughter's family.

John Longley returned about the time that his grandmother died. The following paper signed by him is found among the Knox manuscripts, now in the possession of the New England Historic Genealogical Society:—

John Longley of Groton of about fifty four Years of age Testifies & Saith That he was Taken Captive by the Indians at Groton in July 1694. and Lived in Captivity with them More than four Years; And the Two Last years and an half at Penobscot as Servant to Madocawando of S^d Panobscot And he was always Accounted as Chief or One of y^e Chief Sachems or Captains among the Indians there and I have Often Seen the Indians Sitting in Council Where he always Sat as Chief: And Once in particuler I Observed a present was made him of a Considerable Number of Skins of Considerable Vallue As an Acknowledgment of his Superiority.

JOHN LONGLEY

Midd^s SS. Groton July 24th 1736.

Deacon John Longley above named personally appearing Made Oath To y^e Truth of the above written Testimony.

Before me Benj^a Prescott Jus^t of peace

(Knox Manuscripts, Waldo Papers, L. 13.)

In the month of July, 1877, I was in Montreal, where I procured, through the kindness of the Mother Superior at the Congregation of Notre Dame, a copy of the record of Lydia's baptism, of which the following is a translation:—

On Tuesday, April 24, 1696, the ceremony of baptism was performed on an English girl, named Lydia Longley, who was born April 14, 1674, at Groton, a few miles from Boston in New England. She was the daughter of William Longley and Deliverance Crisp, both Protestants. She was captured in the month of July, 1694, by the Abénaqui Indians, and has lived for the past month in the house of the Sisters of the Congrega-

tion of Notre Dame. The godfather was M. Jacques Le Ber, merchant; the godmother was Madame Marie Madeleine Dupont, wife of M. de Maricourt, Ecuyer, Captain of a company of Marines: she named this English girl Lydia Madeleine

[Signed] LYDIA MADELEINE LONGLEY,
MADELEINE DUPONT,
LE BER,
M. CAILLE, *acting curate.*

I now pass over the period of one generation, leaving behind Indian attacks and massacres, and approach a subject with pleasanter associations.

One day near the close of winter, in a house at the other end of the street, there was considerable commotion and excitement when the announcement was made that "it's a boy." It was in the family of Benjamin and Abigail (Oliver) Prescott, and it was on the 20th of February, 1726, according to the old style of reckoning. In due course of time the baby was christened William, and his earliest experiences, we may venture to say, were much like those of other little ones. Of course all the women and children in the neighborhood came in to see the young pilgrim, and pinched his nose and punched his cheeks to their hearts' content. He came of a sturdy stock, and his family name at that time was the most distinguished one in the annals of Groton.

Jonas, the progenitor, was the son of John and Mary (Platts) Prescott, and was born at Lancaster, in June, 1648. He was a blacksmith by trade, and owned the mill in the south part of Groton, now within the limits of Harvard. It is said that a grant of land made by the town, about the year 1675, when it was much in need of a blacksmith, induced him to remove nearer to the village. He built a house and shop on the lot, which was situated on the easterly side of James's Brook, perhaps a third of a mile south of Lawrence Academy. He bought lands, until he became one of the largest owners of real estate in the town.

Jonas married, December 14, 1672, Mary, daughter of John and Mary (Draper) Loker, of Sudbury, and they had

four sons and eight daughters. Two of the sons died young; but all the other children lived to grow up and have families. The eight daughters, with one exception, married Groton men, and were blessed with a numerous offspring. Jonas filled many important positions in the town, and represented it in the General Court during the years 1699 and 1705; he died on December 31, 1723, aged seventy-five years.

His youngest son, Benjamin, was a man of strong character and commanding appearance; and, like his father, filled many places of usefulness. He was married on June 11, 1718, to Abigail, daughter of the Honorable Thomas and Mary (Wilson) Oliver, of Cambridge; and they had three sons and four daughters. He lived near the old homestead, having built a house a little easterly of his father's, where he died on August 3, 1735, at the age of forty-two years, after a short illness caused by over-exertion while haying. His three sons were all remarkable men, and exerted much influence in shaping public affairs during an important period.

William, the second son of Benjamin, settled on a large estate owned by his father, in that part of Groton, now included in Pepperell, which lies near the State line. He was a lieutenant in the expedition sent in the year 1755 to remove the French Neutrals from Nova Scotia, and a colonel of Minute Men enrolled in this neighborhood in 1774. As commander of the American forces at the Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775, his name will never be forgotten. In later years, at various times he filled the offices of town-clerk, selectman, and representative in the General Court. He was the father of William Prescott, the lawyer and jurist, and the grandfather of William Hickling Prescott, the distinguished historian. He died on October 13, 1795, aged sixty-nine years, and was buried at Pepperell; his widow died on October 21, 1821, at the advanced age of eighty-eight years.

In modern times certain captious critics have tried to deprive Colonel Prescott of the distinction of commanding

the American forces at Bunker Hill. They never would have attempted this act of injustice when the old hero was alive; for then he had too many soldiers who had fought under him, and had heard him giving orders on that eventful day, to allow the fact to be disputed. It was the universal testimony of all his military comrades, as I believe it will be of impartial history, that the commandership of that battle belongs to him. The circumstances surrounding the army at the beginning of the Revolution were such that there may have been but little formality in assigning a command; but there is no evidence that Prescott received an order from any officer on that memorable field, while he himself acted under orders from General Ward.

Besides the three spots marked by the monuments dedicated to-day, there are other places in this town that might well be designated in a special manner; and I trust that the time is not far distant when they also shall have their commemorative stones.

The site of the second meeting-house, near the Chaplin school-house, is one of these places.

Another spot well deserving to be marked with a memorial stone is the place from which Sarah, John, and Zechariah Tarbell were carried off by the Indians, on June 20, 1707. They were children of Thomas and Elizabeth (Wood) Tarbell, who had a large family, and lived on Farmers' Row, near Mr. James Lawrence's house. Sarah was a girl thirteen years of age, John a lad of eleven years, and Zechariah only seven at the time when they were taken by the savages. They were near kindred of the Longley family, who had been massacred thirteen years before.

The story of their capture and captivity is a singular one, and sounds like a romance. They were picking cherries early one evening, — so tradition relates, — and were taken by the Indians before they had time to get down from the tree. It should be borne in mind that the date of capture, according to the new style of reckoning, was July 1, when cherries would be ripe enough to tempt the appetite of youthful climbers. These children were carried to Canada, where,

it would seem, they were treated kindly, as no inducement afterward was strong enough to make them return to their old home. The girl, Sarah, was sold to the French, and placed in a convent at Lachine, near Montreal; but what became of her subsequently I am unable to state.

Thomas Tarbell, the father of these children, made his will September 26, 1715, which was admitted to probate six weeks later. After making certain bequests to different members of his family, he says:—

all the rest & residue of my Reall Estate I give to be Equally divided between my three children, John, Zachery, & Sarah Tarbell, upon their return from Captivity, or In Proportion unto any of them that shall return, & the rest, or the parts belonging to them that do not return, shall be Equally divided among the rest of my children.

In the summer of 1877 I visited Montreal, as I have before mentioned, where I procured, through the kindness of the Mother Superior at the Congregation of Notre Dame, the record of Sarah's baptism, of which the following is a translation:—

On Monday, July 23, 1708, the ceremony of baptism was performed on Sarah Tarbell, who was born at Groton in New England, October 9, 1693. Her parents were Thomas Tarbell and Elizabeth Wood, both Protestants, and she was baptized by the minister shortly after her birth. Having been taken by the savages on Monday, June 20, 1707, she was brought to Canada; she has since been sold, and has lived with the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame, established at Lachine, where she abjured her religion on May 1. Her godfather was M. Jacques Urbain Robert de Lamorandière, Secretary of M. l'Intendant; and her godmother was Madame Marguerite Bonat, wife of M. Étienne Pascaud, the deputy treasurer of the King in this country.

Her name Sarah has been changed to Marguerite.

[Signed]

MG^{TE} BONAT,
PASCAUD,
LAMORANDIERE,
MERIEL, PRÊTRE,

The boys remained with their captors at Caughnawaga, an Indian village on the right bank of the St. Lawrence River, directly opposite to Lachine; and subsequently married squaws, and became chiefs of the tribe. Nothing further in regard to them is learned until April 20, 1739, when their case was brought before the Council and House of Representatives, in Boston. At this time Governor Belcher made a speech, in which he said that —

There are lately come from Canada some Persons that were taken by the Indians from Groton above thirty Years ago, who (its believed) may be induced to return into this Province, on your giving them some proper Encouragement: If this Matter might be effected, I should think it would be not only an Act of Compassion in order to release them from the Errors and Delusions of the Romish Faith; but their living among us might, in Time to come, be of great Advantage to the Province.

The matter was referred to a committee, but no definite result was reached. Nearly forty years after their capture, Governor Hutchinson met them in the State of New York, and, in his "History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay," refers to them thus: —

I saw at Albany two or three men, in the year 1744, who came in with the Indians to trade, and who had been taken at Groton in this, that is called Queen Ann's war. One of them — Tarbell, was said to be one of the wealthiest of the Caughnawaga tribe. He made a visit in his Indian dress and with his Indian complexion (for by means of grease and paints but little difference could be discerned) to his relations at Groton, but had no inclination to remain there (ii. 139).

Some years after this time these two boys — now grown up to manhood, and occupying the position of chiefs — moved up the St. Lawrence River, accompanied by several others, all with their families, and established the village of St. Regis.

Many interesting facts in regard to these Tarbell brothers may be found in Dr. Franklin B. Hough's "History of St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties, New York," published at

Albany, in the year 1853. St. Regis is pleasantly situated on the right bank of the St. Lawrence River, the boundary line separating the State of New York from Canada running through it. A part of the village comes within the limits of Franklin County; and Dr. Hough has gathered some of the traditions in regard to them still extant in that neighborhood. From the peculiar position of St. Regis, it was agreed, during the last war with England, that the Indians should remain neutral, though the agreement was often broken. In the summer of 1852 the tribe numbered about eleven hundred persons, of whom it is said that not one was of pure Indian origin.

In former years the St. Regis Indians had certain rights in a land reservation in the State of New York; and more than once treaties were made between the governor of the State and the chiefs of the tribe, among whom were descendants of these Tarbell boys. A treaty was signed on February 20, 1818, in behalf of the Indians, by Loran Tarbell and Thomas Tarbell, and two other chiefs. Another treaty was signed on September 23, 1825, by eleven chiefs and trustees of the tribe, including Peter Tarbell, Thomas Tarbell, Mitchel Tarbell, Louis Tarbell, and Battice Tarbell. Some of these names, I am sure, will sound familiar to the older ones in this audience. It is very likely that Battice is the same as Sabattis, an Indian name, which is said to be a corruption of *Saint Baptiste*.

Dr. Hough writes about one of the earlier members of the family as follows:—

A half-breed Indian, who usually was known as PETER THE BIG SPEAK, was a son of Lessor Tarbell, one of the lads who had been stolen away from Groton by the Indians, and who subsequently became one of the first settlers who preceded the founding of St. Regis.

He was a man of much address and ability as a speaker, and was selected as the mouthpiece of the tribe on the more important occasions that presented themselves (p. 182).

Dr. Hough is wrong when he says that Lessor was the name of one of the captured boys. It is perfectly well

known that their names were John and Zechariah, but it is not improbable that one of their sons was named Lesor. If this was the case, it was intended, doubtless, for Eleazer, the name of their youngest brother, who was less than two months old when they were carried off. It certainly would be a very touching tribute to their childish recollections that they should have remembered this little babe at home, and carried him in their thoughts for so many years.

In the year 1772 the Reverend Mr. Ripley and Lieutenant Taylor went on a mission to Canada, in order to induce some Indian children to join the Charity School at Hanover, New Hampshire. They returned September 21, bringing with them eight boys from Caughnawaga, and two from Lorette, a village near Quebec. Among these lads was a descendant of one of the Groton Tarbells. (A Continuation of the Narrative of the Indian Charity School, by Eleazer Wheelock, D.D., 1773, pp. 39, 40.)

A Frenchman, of the name of Fovel, visited St. Regis in the year 1826, and induced one of the Tarbell family, whose Indian name was Joseph Torakaron, to accompany him to Europe. Torakaron was to travel in the character of an Indian chief, and Fovel was to act as interpreter and agent. They sailed from New York, and, after reaching Paris, they obtained an interview with Charles X; and so favorable was the impression produced on the mind of the king, that he presented them with three fine paintings, besides some money. Subsequently they went to Rome, where they were presented to the Pope, who gave them some books and plate for the service of the church. (Dr. Hough's History, &c., p. 166.)

In the summer of 1877 I visited St. Regis, where I met a grandson of one of the Tarbell boys who were carried off. He was more than eighty years old, could speak only the Indian language, and I had to communicate with him through an interpreter. In this way I learned that he was aware of the fact that his grandfather had been captured, when a boy, from a town near Boston, and that he had relatives still living there. What interested me exceedingly

was the physical resemblance between him and some of his collateral kindred who lived and died at Squannacook, within my recollection. He was a man of ordinary size, with a sunburnt face and gray hair, though somewhat bald. There was but little appearance of Indian blood in his veins, and he would have passed anywhere for a good-looking old man. He lived with one of his sons in a small house that was clapboarded and painted, — and one of the best in the village, — where, surrounded by his grandchildren, he was passing the declining years of his life in comfortable ease. I was interested to learn from the Reverend Francis Marcoux, the parish priest, that the Tarbells were among the most prominent families of the settlement, where there are, perhaps, forty persons who bear the name. They keep up, in a great measure, the same given names that are common among their kindred in this neighborhood. The inhabitants of St. Regis, for the most part, retain the English names of their fathers, and, besides, have Indian ones.

A third spot that might appropriately be marked by the town is the place where John Shattuck and his eldest son John, a young man in his nineteenth year, were murdered by the Indians, May 8, 1709. They were returning from the west side of the Nashua River, where Mr. Shattuck owned land, and were attacked just as they were crossing the Stony Fordway, below the dam, near the Hollingsworth Paper-mills, where they were killed. At the time of his death Mr. Shattuck, was one of the selectmen of the town. [A memorial stone with a suitable inscription was placed near the bridge in December, 1882.]

A remarkable fatality seems to have followed Mrs. Shattuck's kindred. Her husband and eldest son were killed by the Indians, as has just been mentioned. Her father, James Blood, was likewise killed, September 13, 1692. So also were her uncle, William Longley, his wife and five children, July 27, 1694; and three others of their children were carried away into captivity at the same time. A relative, James Parker, Jr., and his wife were killed in this assault, and their children taken prisoners. Her step-father, Enosh Law-

rence, received a wound in an engagement with the Indians, probably in the same attack of July 27, 1694, which almost wholly prevented him from earning a livelihood for himself and family. The three Tarbell children, who were carried off to Canada by the Indians, June 20, 1707, were cousins of Mrs. Shattuck. John Ames, who was shot by the savages at the gate of his own garrison, July 9, 1724, was the father of Jacob, who married her niece, Ruth Shattuck. And lastly, her son-in-law, Isaac Lakin, the husband of her daughter Elizabeth, was wounded in Lovewell's fight at Pigwacket, May 8, 1725. These calamities covered a period of only one generation, extending from the year 1692 to 1725.

The task which you assigned me is now done; and I need not assure you that it has been a labor of love. I will end it by saying that the lesson of these monuments will be lost, if it does not teach us to study the example and to imitate the virtues of the founders of the town.

AN
HISTORICAL ADDRESS

JULY 12, 1905

ON THE CELEBRATION OF THE

TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
SETTLEMENT OF THE TOWN

TO THE MEMORY
OF
The Early Settlers of Groton

TO WHOM IN MANY WAYS THE PRESENT INHABITANTS
OWE SO MUCH

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HISTORICAL ADDRESS

ON this interesting occasion we all miss the presence of one whose form and figure were familiar to every man, woman, and child in town; and only a few months ago we were all looking forward to the time when he would take a prominent part in these exercises of to-day. Some of us remember the Bi-centennial Celebration which took place a half-century ago, and a few of us now in this assembly were present at that gathering. We recall the grace and dignity with which he, as President of the day on that occasion, performed the duties of his office, both in the meeting-house where the historical address was given, and in the tent where the after-dinner speeches were made. Whenever or wherever his services were needed, whether in the councils of the State or the Nation, they were always cheerfully rendered; and in this quiet village his aid and advice, often sought by his townsfolk, were always freely given. In many walks of life, both lofty and lowly, his absence will be keenly felt; but here among his old-time neighbors more than elsewhere, the loss is a personal one, and comes home to us all. We miss him now at this time more than words can tell. When death strikes such a man, who has led a blameless life, and whose bodily frame has become enfeebled by the infirmities of age, his removal is not a cause for sorrow; but rather it is an occasion for devout gratitude to Heaven and for heartfelt thanksgivings that he was spared to us during so many years. Life is at the longest only a short period of probation, and birth is but the beginning of death. The noble example of such a character is as lasting as the countless ages of time, and is never lost, for the continuity of life keeps up the thread of connection. He died at an advanced age in the fulness of all his mental and intellectual powers, which seemed to strengthen as the

years rolled by. Truly he was the Grand Old Man of the Commonwealth! As long as the town of Groton shall have a municipal existence, the memory and traditions connected with the name of Boutwell will be counted among her richest treasures.

The story of this town has been told so many times, both in printed book and public address, that now I shall not repeat the tale. I might give a narrative of the trials and troubles, suffered equally by brave men and hardy women, during the first century of the settlement; I might tell how the town was attacked by the Indians and burnt, and how the inhabitants were driven away from their homes and compelled for a while to abandon the place; how on various occasions men were killed by the savages, families broken up, and children carried off into captivity; and how oftentimes from the failure of crops they were pinched by want; and how they endured other privations, — but a rehearsal of these facts at this time would be as tedious as a twice-told tale. Instead of describing the sad and dreadful experiences of the early settlers, and the destruction of their homes by fire and hideous ruin, I shall confine myself to other topics, and speak of some of the conditions of their day, bringing the account down to a later period, and touching on a few of the more important events in our local history.

In early Colonial days a town did not become a municipal corporation by formal vote of the General Court, with power to act as one person, but a grant of land, sometimes containing many thousand acres, was made to a body of men under certain conditions, which was practically a *quasi* form of incorporation. The most important of these conditions was the speedy settlement of a Godly minister, and often another condition was that those persons who received land should build houses thereon within a stated period of time. Sometimes a board of selectmen was named by the Legislature, who should look after the prudential affairs of the town until their successors were chosen. In those days this course was substantially the only formality needed in order to give local self-govern-

ment to a new community. The term "prudential affairs" was a convenient expression, intended to cover anything required by a town which prudence would dictate.

In the early records of the Colony the proceedings of the General Court, as a rule, were not dated day by day, — though there are many exceptions, — but the beginning of the session is always given, and occasionally the days of the month are entered. These dates in the printed edition of the Records are frequently carried along without authority, sometimes covering a period of several days, or even a week or more; and for this reason often it is impossible to tell the exact date of any particular legislation unless there are contemporary documents on file which bear on the subject. In a few instances papers are found among the State Archives or elsewhere, which fix the date of such legislation as is wanting in the official reports.

For these reasons it is impossible to tell to a dot or a day, with entire certainty, when the town of Groton began its municipal life or official existence, — or, in other words, when it was "incorporated," as the modern expression is. Without any doubt the date was near the end of May, 1655, Old Style. It must have been after May 23, as on that day the General Court began its session; and it was before May 29, when the next entry in the records appears. Fortunately there is still preserved among the manuscripts of the New-England Historic Genealogical Society a contemporary record of the action of the General Court in regard to the matter. This interesting old paper, officially attested by Edward Rawson, Secretary of the Colony, and by William Torrey, Clerk of the Deputies, was given to that Society by the late Charles Woolley, for many years an honored resident of Groton. This document was signed on May 25, the day when the Assistants, or Magistrates as they are often called, granted the petition, and apparently at the same time the House of Deputies took concurrent action. At that period the Assistants formed the body of law-makers which is known to-day as the State Senate; and at that time the

House of Deputies corresponded to the present House of Representatives.

It may be proper to add that the Groton Historical Society owns a contemporary copy of the record made near the time of the Grant by Edward Rawson, Secretary of the Colony, which is dated May 23, 1655. It was found among the papers of the late John Boynton, a former town-clerk of Groton, and it may have been sent, soon after the settlement of the town, to the selectmen for their information and guidance. Perhaps the Secretary took the first day of the General Court, as in England before April 8, 1793, all laws passed at a session of Parliament went into effect from the first day, unless there was some clause to the contrary.

But whatever the date, be it a few days more or less, the substance is always of greater importance than the shadow; so it is of less moment to learn the exact time of the order than it is to know that the town has now reached the ripe old age of two centuries and a half, and that she wears the dignity of her increasing years like a crown of glory.

Besides Groton the only two other towns established in the year 1655 by the Colony of Massachusetts Bay were Billerica and Chelmsford; and singularly enough all three were contiguous townships, lying in the same county, and all three "incorporated" within a very few days of each other. It should be borne in mind that originally the town of Westford was a part of the territory of Chelmsford. Why these three adjoining towns were thus created at this particular time may not have been a mere coincidence. It may have been the result of a certain condition of political "ins" and "outs" at that early period of Colonial history which now cannot be explained.

The Charter, duly given by Charles I, was abrogated by the English courts in the summer of 1684. The action was considered by the Colonists as little short of a gross outrage, and caused much confusion in public affairs as well as hard feeling among the people. Says Palfrey, in

his "History of New England" (iv. 5), "The charter of Massachusetts, the only unquestionable title of her citizens to any rights, proprietary, social, or political, had been vacated by regular process in the English courts." It was vacated by a decree in Chancery, on June 21, 1684, which was confirmed on October 23 of the same year. On May 25, 1686, Joseph Dudley, a native of Roxbury, under a commission from King James II, became President of New England, with jurisdiction over the whole region. This office he held for seven months, until December 30, when Edmund Andros became Governor of New England, appointed by James II. He proved to be a highly arbitrary officer, and was deposed by a revolution of the people, on April 18, 1689. Andros was followed by Simon Bradstreet, who was Governor from May 24, 1689, to May 14, 1692. He was the grandfather of Dudley Bradstreet, an early minister of this town, which gives an additional interest to his name at the present time. During this period another Charter, signed by William and Mary, on October 7, 1691, and now known as the Second Charter, became operative. Under this instrument the Colony was made a Province, which is a lower grade of political existence, as it has fewer privileges and more restrictions as to the rights of the people. From June, 1684, when the First Charter was vacated, till May, 1692, when the Second Charter went into operation, the time is generally spoken of as the Inter-Charter period, and is an exceptional one in the history of Massachusetts and New England.

The first settlers of the town came here less than one generation after the Colonial Charter of Massachusetts Bay was granted by Charles I. They represented a rugged race, willing to undergo hardships in daily life, and ready to meet dangers from any source. Under calamitous conditions they pushed into the wilderness and made their homes in a region little known to the white man. They were a brave band, and took their trials and troubles with a readiness worthy of all praise. The new township lay on the frontiers, and all beyond was a desolate wild. It

stood on the outer edge of civilization, and for a time served as a barrier against Indian attacks on the inlying settlements. The lot of a frontiersman, even under favorable conditions, is never a happy one, but at that period, particularly when cut off from neighbors and deprived of all social and commercial intercourse with other towns, and in an age when newspapers and postal privileges were unknown, his lot was indeed hard. In after-years this experience told on the settlers to their credit and benefit, and made the bold character that cropped out in later generations when there was need of such stuff. In their make-up they had the gristle which hardened into bone. The laws of heredity are not well enough known for us to trace closely Cause and Effect; but the lives led by the early pioneers of the Colony had their fruitage in the wars of the next century. These laws work in a subtle and mysterious way and cannot be defined, but the hardships of one generation toughen the fibre and sharpen the skill of the next. Given a strong body and a high standard of morality, and the offspring will show the inherited traits. Every farmer in this town knows that a strain of blood and breed will tell on his domestic stock. As flowers, by a process not revealed to us, select the tint of delicate colors from the swampy bogs of nature, so the toils of life weave the warp and the woof which make up noble character. "The web of our life is of a mingled yarn, good and ill together." Heredity and environment when they work in harmony plough deep and send forth a rich harvest.

It was once wittily said by a writer, — so distinguished in his day that I hardly know whether to speak of him as a poet or a physician, but whom all will recognize as the Autocrat of the Breakfast Table, — that a man's education begins a hundred years before he is born. I am almost tempted to add that even then he is putting on only the finishing touches of his training. A man is a composite being, both in body and soul, with a long line of ancestry whose beginnings it is impossible to trace;

and every succeeding generation only helps to foster and bind together the various and innumerable qualities which make up his own personality, though they be modified by countless circumstances that form his later education, and for which he alone is responsible.

The first comers to Massachusetts brought from their English homes a love of personal freedom and liberty. For generations this feeling had not been encouraged there by the royal authorities; and its growth, hampered by many obstacles, had been slow. These settlers were a hard-working set and a God-fearing people, and of the right stock to found a nation. Here the new conditions enabled them to give free scope to their actions, and the natural drift of events was all toward individual independence in its widest sense. There was no law against either conventicles or non-conformists, and for that period of time there was great liberality of sentiment on the part of the Colonists. For centuries the microbic atoms of independence had been kept alive in England, and from one generation to another they handed down the germs which developed in the new world, and bore fruit in the American Revolution. From the time of King John, who, on June 15, 1215, signed the Great Charter of the Liberties of England, the recognition of human rights was advancing in the mother country slowly but steadily; and the new settlers here, infected with similar ideas, brought with them the spirit of these political principles. The development of broad views was gradual, but on every advance the wheels were blocked behind, and the gain was held. Each separate step thus taken led finally to the Declaration of Independence, which was the crowning point of political freedom. Based on this instrument, and following it closely both in spirit and in point of time, was the written Constitution of the United States, which has served as a model for so many different governments.

Less than one generation passed between the time when the Charter of Charles I was given to the Colony of Massachusetts Bay and the date when the grant of Groton

Plantation was made by the General Court. The Charter was given on March 4, 1628-9, and the grant of the town was made in May, 1655, — the interval being a little more than twenty-six years. At that period scarcely anything was known about the geography of the region, and the Charter gave to the Governor and other representatives of the Massachusetts Company, on certain conditions, all the territory lying between an easterly and westerly line running three miles north of any part of the Merrimack River and extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific, and a similar parallel line running three miles south of any part of the Charles River. Without attempting to trace in detail, from the time of the Cabots to the days of the Charter, the continuity of the English title to this transcontinental strip of territory, it is enough to know that the precedents and usages of that period gave to Great Britain, in theory at least, undisputed sway over the region, and forged every link in the chain of authority and sovereignty.

At the time of the Charter it was incorrectly supposed that America was a narrow strip of land, — perhaps an arm of the continent of Asia, — and that the distance across from ocean to ocean was comparatively short. It was known then that the Isthmus of Darien was narrow, and therefore it was supposed that the whole continent also was narrow. New England was a region about which little was known beyond slight examinations made from the coast line. The rivers were unexplored, and all knowledge concerning them was confined to the neighborhood of the places where they emptied into the sea. The early navigators thought that the general course of the Merrimack was easterly and westerly, as it runs in that direction near the mouth; and their error was perpetuated inferentially by the words of the Charter. By later explorations this strip of territory has since been lengthened out into a belt three thousand miles long, and stretches across the whole width of a continent. The cities of Albany, Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo, Detroit, and Milwaukee all lie within this zone,

on territory that once belonged to the Massachusetts Company, according to the Charter granted by King Charles.

The general course of the Merrimack, as well as its source, soon became known to the early settlers on the coast. The northern boundary of the original grant to the Colony of Massachusetts Bay was established under a misapprehension; and this ignorance of the topography of the country on the part of the English authorities afterward gave rise to considerable controversy between the adjoining Provinces of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. So long as the territory in question remained unsettled, the dispute was a matter of little practical importance; but after a while it assumed grave proportions and led to much confusion. Grants made by one Province clashed with those made by the other; and there was no ready tribunal to decide the claims of the two parties. Towns were chartered by Massachusetts in territory claimed by New Hampshire; and this action was the cause of bitter feeling and provoking legislation. Massachusetts contended for the tract of land "nominated in the bond," which would carry the jurisdictional line fifty miles northward, into the very heart of New Hampshire; and, on the other hand, that Province strenuously opposed this view of the case, and claimed that the line should run, east and west, three miles north of the mouth of the Merrimack River. In order to settle these conflicting claims a Royal Commission was appointed to consider the subject and establish the contested line. The Commissioners were selected from the councillors of the Provinces of New York, New Jersey, Nova Scotia, and Rhode Island, — men supposed to be free from any local prejudices in the matter, and impartial in their feelings; and without doubt they were such. The board, as appointed under the Great Seal, consisted of nineteen members, although only seven served in their capacity as Commissioners. They met at Hampton, New Hampshire, on August 1, 1737; and for mutual convenience the Legislative Assemblies of the two Provinces met in the same neighborhood, — the Assembly of New

Hampshire at Hampton Falls, and that of Massachusetts at Salisbury, places only five miles apart. This was done in order that the claims of each side might be considered with greater despatch than otherwise they would receive. The General Court of Massachusetts met at Salisbury, in the First Parish Meeting-house, on August 10, 1737, and continued to hold its sessions in that town until October 20, inclusive, though with several adjournments, of which one was for thirty-five days. The printed journal of the House of Representatives, during this period, gives the proceedings of that body, which contain much in regard to the controversy besides the ordinary business of legislation. Many years previously the two Provinces had been united so far as to have the same governor, — at this time Jonathan Belcher, — but each Province had its own legislative body and code of laws.

The Commissioners heard both sides of the question, and agreed upon an award in alternative, leaving to the king the interpretation of the charters given respectively by Charles I and William and Mary. Under one interpretation the decision was in favor of Massachusetts, and under the other in favor of New Hampshire; and at the same time each party was allowed six weeks to file objections. Neither side, however, was satisfied with this indirect decision; and the whole matter was then taken to the king in council. Massachusetts claimed that the Merrimack River began at the confluence of the Winnepesaukee and the Pemigewasset Rivers, and that the northern boundary of the Province should run, east and west, three miles north of this point. On the other hand, New Hampshire claimed that the intention of the Charter was to establish a northern boundary on a line, running east and west, three miles north of the mouth of the Merrimack River. In this controversy Massachusetts seems to have based her claim on the letter of the contract, while New Hampshire based hers on the spirit of the contract.

The strongest argument in favor of Massachusetts was the fact that she had always considered the disputed ter-

ritory as belonging to her jurisdiction; and before this period she had chartered twenty-four towns lying within the limits of the tract. These several settlements all looked to her for protection, and naturally sympathized with her during the controversy. As just stated, neither party was satisfied with the verdict rendered by the Royal Commissioners; and both sides appealed from their judgment. The matter was then taken to England for a decision, which was given by the king, on March 4, 1739-40. His judgment was final, and in favor of New Hampshire. It gave to that Province not only all the territory in dispute, but a strip of land fourteen miles in width lying along her southern border, — mostly west of the Merrimack, — which she had never claimed. This strip was the tract of land between the line running east and west three miles north of the southernmost trend of the river, and a similar line three miles north of its mouth. By the decision many townships were taken from Massachusetts and given to New Hampshire. The settlement of this disputed question was undoubtedly a great public benefit, but at the time it caused a good deal of hard feeling. The new line was established by surveyors officially in the spring of 1741.

In regard to the divisional line between the two Provinces lying east of the Merrimack, there was much less uncertainty, as, in a general way, it followed the bend of the river, and for that reason there was much less controversy over the jurisdiction. Many of you, doubtless, have noticed on a map the tier of towns which fringe the north bank of the Merrimack, between the city of Lowell and the mouth of the river; and, perhaps, you have wondered why those places, which from a geographical point of view belong to the State of New Hampshire, should come now within the limits of Massachusetts. The explanation of this seeming incongruity goes back to the date of the first Charter, now more than two hundred and seventy-five years ago.

Thus far I have given an account of this dispute in some detail, as the town of Groton was a party to the con-

troversy and took a deep interest in the result. It was by this decision of the king that the town lost all that portion of its territory which lies now within the limits of the city of Nashua; but it did not suffer nearly so much as our neighbor, the town of Dunstable, suffered by the same decision. At that time she received a staggering blow, and her loss, indeed, was a grievous one. Originally she was a large township containing 128,000 acres of land, situated on both sides of the Merrimack; and she was so cut in two by the running of the new line that by far the larger part of her territory came within the jurisdiction of New Hampshire. Even the meeting-house and the burying-ground, both so closely and dearly connected with the early life of our people, were separated from that portion of the town still remaining in Massachusetts; and this fact added not a little to the animosity felt by the inhabitants when the disputed question was settled. It is no exaggeration to say that throughout the old township and all along the line of the borders from the Merrimack to the Connecticut, the feelings and sympathies of the people were wholly with Massachusetts.

Thus cut in twain, there were two adjoining towns bearing the same name, the one in Massachusetts, and the other in New Hampshire; and thus they remained for nearly a century. This similarity of designation was the source of considerable confusion which lasted until the New Hampshire town, on January 1, 1837, took the name of Nashua, after the river from which its prosperity largely is derived.

By the same decision of the king our other adjoining neighbor, Townsend, — for at that time Pepperell had not as yet taken on a separate municipal existence, — was deprived of more than one quarter of her territory; and the present towns of Brookline, Mason, and New Ipswich in New Hampshire are reaping now the benefit of what she then lost.

Enough of the original Groton Plantation, however, was left to furnish other towns and parts of towns with ample

material for their territory. On November 26, 1742, the west parish of Groton was set off as a precinct. It comprised all that part of the town lying on the west side of the Nashua River, north of the old road leading from Groton to Townsend, and now known as Pepperell. Its incorporation as a parish or precinct allowed the inhabitants to manage their own ecclesiastical affairs, while in all other matters they continued to act with the parent town. Its partial separation gave them the benefit of a settled minister in their neighborhood, which in those days was considered of great importance.

It is an interesting fact to note that in early times the main reason given in the petitions for dividing towns was the long distance to the meeting-house, by which the inhabitants were prevented from hearing the stated preaching of the gospel. At the present day I do not think that this argument is ever urged by those who favor the division of a township.

On April 12, 1753, when the Act was signed by the Governor, the west parish of Groton was made a district, — the second step toward its final and complete separation from the mother town. At this period the Crown authorities were jealous of the growth of the popular party in the House of Representatives, and for that reason they frowned on every attempt to increase the number of its members. This fact had some connection with the tendency, which began to crop out during Governor Shirley's administration, to form districts instead of towns, thereby withholding their representation. At this date the west parish, under its changed political conditions, took the name of Pepperrell, and was vested with still broader powers. It was so called after Sir William Pepperrell, who had successfully commanded the New England troops against Louisburg; and the name was suggested, doubtless, by the Reverend Joseph Emerson, the first settled minister of the parish. He had accompanied that famous expedition in the capacity of chaplain, only the year before he had received a call for his settlement, and the associations

with the commander were fresh in his memory. The hero of the capture of Louisburg always wrote his surname with a double "r"; and for many years the district followed that custom, and like him spelled the name with two "r"s, but gradually the town dropped one of these letters. It was near the beginning of the nineteenth century that the present orthographic form of the word became general.

In the session of the General Court which met at Watertown, on July 19, 1775, Pepperell was represented by a member, and at that time practically acquired the rights and privileges of a town without any special act of incorporation. Other similar districts were likewise represented, in accordance with the precept calling that body together, and thus they obtained full municipal rights without the usual formality. The precedent seems to have been set by the First Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, which met in the autumn of 1774, and was made up of delegates from the districts as well as from the towns. It was a revolutionary step taken outside of the law; and the informality led to a general Act, passed on August 23, 1775, which legalized the change.

Shirley, unlike Pepperell, was never incorporated as a precinct, but was set off as a district on January 5, 1753, three months before Pepperell was set off as one. In the Act of Incorporation the name was left blank, — as it was previously in the case of Harvard, and soon afterward in that of Pepperell, — and "Shirley" was filled in at the time of its engrossment. It was so named after William Shirley, the Governor of the Province at that period. It never was incorporated specifically as a town, but became one by a general Act of the Legislature, passed on August 23, 1775. While a district it was represented in the session of the General Court which met at Watertown, on July 19, 1775, as well as represented in the First Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, and thus tacitly acquired the dignity of a town, which was afterward confirmed by the Act, just mentioned.

These two townships, Pepperell and Shirley, were the first settlements to swarm from the original Plantation. With the benediction of the mother they left the parent hive, and on all occasions they have proved to be dutiful daughters in whom the old town has always taken a deep pride. In former years, before the days of railroads, these two towns were closely identified with Groton, and the social intercourse between them was very intimate. If the families of the three towns were not akin to one another, in a certain sense they were neighbors.

The latest legislation connected with the dismemberment of the original grant, — and perhaps the last for many years to come, — is the Act of February 14, 1871, by which the town of Ayer was incorporated. This enactment took from Groton a large section of territory lying near its southern borders, and from Shirley all that part of the town on the easterly side of the Nashua River which was annexed to it from Groton, on February 6, 1798.

Thus has the old Groton Plantation, during a period of two hundred and fifty years, been hewn and hacked down to less than one half of its original dimensions. Formerly it contained 40,960 acres, while now the amount of taxable land within the town is 19,850 acres. It has furnished, substantially, the entire territory of Pepperell, Shirley, and Ayer, more than one half of Dunstable, and has contributed more or less to form five other towns, — namely, Harvard, Littleton, and Westford, in Massachusetts, besides Nashua and Hollis, in New Hampshire.

The early settlers of Groton, like all other persons of that period of time or of any period, had their limitations. They were lovers of political freedom, and they gave the largest liberty to all, — so far as it related to their physical condition; but in matters of religious belief it was quite otherwise. With them it was an accepted tradition, — perhaps with us not entirely outgrown, — that persons who held a different faith from themselves were likely to have a lower standard of morality. They saw things by a dim light, they saw "through a glass darkly." They beheld

theological objects by the help of dipped candles, and they interpreted religion and its relations to life accordingly. They viewed all ecclesiastical matters through chinks, while we who live two hundred and fifty years later can bring to our aid the electric light of science and modern discovery. We have a great advantage over what they had, and let us use it fairly. Let us be just to them, as we hope for justice from those who will follow us. Let us remember that the standards of daily life change from one century to another. Perhaps in future generations, when we are judged, the verdict of posterity will be against us rather than against the early comers. More has been given to us than was given to them, and we shall be held answerable in a correspondingly larger measure. It is not the number of talents with which we have been entrusted that will tell in our favor, but the sacred use we make of them. In deciding this question, two centuries and a half hence, I am by no means sure of the judgment that history will render. Do we as a nation give all men a square deal? The author of the Golden Rule was color-blind, and in its application he made no difference between the various races of mankind. This rule applied to the black man equally with the white man. Do we now give our African brother a fair chance? It is enough for us to try to do right, and let the consequences be what they will. "Hew up to the chalk line, and let the chips fly where they may," once said Wendell Phillips. We hear much nowadays about the simple life, but that was the life lived by the settlers, and taught to their children, both by precept and example. Austere in their belief, they practised those homely virtues which lie at the base of all civilization; and we of to-day owe much to their memory. They prayed for the wisdom that cometh from above, and for the righteousness that exalteth a nation; and they tried to square their conduct by their creed.

The early settlers were a plain folk, and they knew little of the pride and pomposity of later times. To sum up briefly their social qualities, I should say that they were

neighborly to a superlative degree, which means much in country life. They looked after the welfare of their neighbors who were not so well off in this world's goods as they themselves, they watched with them when they were sick, and sympathized with them when death came into their families. In cold weather they hauled wood for the widows, and cut it up and split it for them; and when a beef "crittur" or a hog was killed, no one went hungry. When a man met with an accident and had a leg broken, the neighbors saw that his crops were gathered, and that all needful work was done; and after a heavy snow-storm in winter, they turned to and broke out the roads and private ways with sleds drawn by many yoke of oxen belonging in the district. Happily all this order of things is not yet a lost art, but in former times the custom was more thoroughly observed, and spread over a much wider region than now prevails. When help was needed in private households, they never asked, like the lawyer of old, "And who is my neighbor?" They always stretched out their hands to the poor, and they reached forth their hands to the needy.

To us it seems almost pathetic, certainly amusing, to see how closely they connected their daily life with the affairs of the church. As a specimen I will give an instance found in the note-book of the Reverend John Fiske, of Chelmsford. He records that James Parker, James Fiske, and John Nutting wished to remove from Chelmsford and take up their abode in this town. The subject of their removal was brought before the church there in the autumn of 1661, when they desired the "loving leave" of their brethren so to do, as well as prayers that the blessing of God might accompany them to their new homes. The meeting was held on November 9, 1661, when some discussion took place and considerable feeling was shown. Mr. Fiske, the pastor, shrewdly declined to commit himself in the matter; or, according to the record, declined to speak on the question "one way or the other, but desired that the brethren might manifest themselves." At the conference one brother said that there was no necessity for

the removal, and hoped that the three members would give up their intention to remove, and would remain in Chelmsford. Reading between the lines it seems as if this town had invited the three men to settle here; and Brother Parker speaking for them ("in the plural number") said that God's hand was to be seen in the whole movement. The same hand which brought them to Chelmsford now pointed to Groton. Apparently the meeting was a protracted one, and "scarce a man in the Church but presently said the grounds, the grounds." This was another form of calling for the question, — in other words, for the reasons of the removal, whether valid or not. While the decision of the conference is not given in exact language, inferentially it was in favor of their going, — as they were here in December, 1662. James Parker was a deacon of the Chelmsford church; and perhaps there had been some slight disagreement between him and a few of the other members. Evidently he was one of the pillars of the body at Chelmsford; and at once he became a deacon at Groton. To us now it is amusing to see what a commotion in the church was raised because these three families purposed to remove to another town. "Behold, how great a matter a little fire kindleth." Fortunately for this town James Parker, James Fiske, and John Nutting with their households came hither to live, where they all became useful and influential citizens far above the average. In his day James Parker was the most prominent man in Groton, filling many civil and military positions; the next year after coming James Fiske was chosen selectman, and later town-clerk; and John Nutting was appointed surveyor of highways. There are in this audience, doubtless, at the present moment many descendants of these three pioneers who had so many obstacles thrown in their way before taking up their abode here. If these families had not removed hither at that early period, perhaps their descendants now would be celebrating anniversaries elsewhere rather than here, and might never have known what they lost by the change in their respective birthplaces. Without being able to call them by name or to identify them in any way, to all such

I offer the greetings of this gathering on the good judgment shown by their ancestors.

This town took its name from Groton, Co. Suffolk, England, which was the native place of Deane Winthrop, one of the original petitioners for Groton Plantation. His name stands at the head of the list of selectmen appointed in 1655 by the General Court; and to-day we should give him the title of Chairman of the Board. He was a son of John Winthrop who came to New England in 1630 as Governor of Massachusetts; and it was in compliment to him that the name of his birthplace was given to the town. Without much doubt he was a resident here for a few years; and in this opinion I am supported by a distinguished member of that family, now deceased, who some time ago wrote me as follows:

BOSTON, 27 February, 1878.

MY DEAR DR. GREEN, — It would give me real pleasure to aid you in establishing the relations of Deane Winthrop to the Town of Groton in Massachusetts. But there are only three or four letters of Deane's among the family papers in my possession, and not one of them is dated Groton. Nor can I find in any of the family papers a distinct reference to his residence there.

There are, however, two brief notes of his, both dated "the 16 of December, 1662," which I cannot help thinking may have been written at Groton. One of them is addressed to his brother John, the Governor of Connecticut, who was then in London, on business connected with the Charter of Connecticut. In this note Deane says as follows: —

"I have some thoughts of removing from the place that I now live in, into your Colony, if I could lit of a convenient place. The place that I now live in is too little for me, my children now growing up."

We know that Deane Winthrop was at the head of the first Board of Selectmen of Groton a few years earlier, and that he went to reside at Pullen Point, now called Winthrop, not many years after.

I am strongly inclined to think with you that this note of December, 1662, was written at Groton.

Yours very truly,

SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D.

ROBT. C. WINTHROP.

During my boyhood I always had a strong desire to visit Groton in England, which gave its name to this town and indirectly to six other towns in the United States. Strictly speaking, it is not a town, but a parish; and there are technical distinctions between the two. More than fifty years ago I was staying in London, and as a stranger in that great metropolis, even after many inquiries I found much difficulty in learning the best way to reach the little village. All my previous knowledge in regard to the place was limited to the fact that it lay in the county of Suffolk, near its southern border. After a somewhat close study of a Railway Guide, I left London in the month of October, 1854, for Sudbury, which is the only town of considerable size in the immediate neighborhood of Groton. After changing trains at a railway junction, of which the name has long since faded from my memory, I found myself in a carriage alone with a fellow-passenger, who was both courteous and communicative, and thoroughly acquainted with the country through which we were passing. On telling him the purpose of my visit, he seemed to be much interested, and told me in return that he was very familiar with the parish of Groton; and he had many questions to ask about our good old town, which I was both able and glad to answer. It soon turned out that my hitherto unknown friend was Sir Henry E. Austen, of Chelsworth, Hadleigh, who, on reaching Sudbury, gave me a note of introduction to Richard Almack, Esq., of Long Melford, which I used a day or two afterward with excellent results. From Sudbury I drove in a dog-cart to Boxford, where I tarried over night at the White Horse Inn, and in the morning walked over to Groton, less than a mile distant. This place — the object of my pilgrimage — I found to be a typical English village of the olden time, very small both in territory and population, and utterly unlike any of its American namesakes. Its history goes back many generations, even to a period before Domesday Book, which was ordered by William the Conqueror more than eight hundred years ago, and which registers

a survey of lands in England made at that early date. The text is in Latin, and the words are much shortened by various contractions. The writing is peculiar and hard to read; but it gives some interesting statistics in regard to the place.

On reaching the end of my trip I called at once on the rector, who received me very kindly and offered to go with me to the church, which invitation I readily accepted. He expressed much interest in the New England towns bearing the name of Groton, and spoke of a visit made to the English town, a few years previously, by the Honorable Robert C. Winthrop, of Boston, which gave him great pleasure. We walked over the grounds of the old manor, once belonging to John Winthrop, first Governor of Massachusetts; and Groton Place, the residence of the lord of the manor at that time, was pointed out, as well as a solitary mulberry-tree, which stood in Winthrop's garden, and is now the last vestige of the spot. In strolling over the grounds I picked up some acorns under an oak, which were afterward sent home to my father and planted here, but unfortunately they did not come up. I remember with special pleasure the attentions of Mr. R. F. Swan, post-master at Boxford, who took me to a small school of little children in that parish, where the teacher told the scholars that I had come from another Groton across the broad ocean. He also kindly made for me a rough tracing of the part of the parish in which I was more particularly interested; and as I had left the inn at Boxford when he called, he sent it by private hands to me at the Sudbury railway station. All these little courtesies and many more I recollect with great distinctness, and they add much to the pleasant memories of my visit to the ancestral town, which has such a numerous progeny of municipal descendants in the United States.

Of this large family our town, now celebrating the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its birth, is the eldest; and as the "first-born, higher than the kings of the earth."

The next child in the order of descent is the town in Connecticut, — younger than this town by just half a century, and during the Revolution the scene of the heroic Ledyard's death. It was so named in the year 1705, during the Governorship of Fitz-John Winthrop, out of respect to the Suffolk home of the family. In population this is the largest of the various towns bearing the name, and contains several thriving villages. It is situated on the east bank of the Thames River, in New London County.

The next town in age is the one in Grafton County, New Hampshire, which was originally granted by the Legislature of that State as early as July 3, 1761, under the name of Cockermouth, and re-granted on November 22, 1766; but the present name of Groton was not given until December 7, 1796. It was chosen by certain inhabitants of the place, who were connected either by birth or through kindred with this town. The population is small, and the principal pursuit of the people is farming, though there are eight or ten sawmills within its limits. Mica is found in great abundance, and forms the basis of an important industry. There is a Spectacle Pond, lying partly within the town, of which the name may have gone from this neighborhood. There are two villages in the township, the one known as North Groton, perhaps the more important, and the other situated near the southerly border, and known as Groton. Between these two villages, in the centre of the territory, are the town-house, and an old burying-ground where fifteen years ago I examined many of the epitaphs and found a few family names that are still common here in our Old Burying-ground.

The fourth child in the municipal family is the town of Groton, Caledonia County, Vermont, a pretty village lying in the Wells River valley, and chartered on October 20, 1789, though the earliest settlers were living there a few years before that date. The first child born in the town was Sally, daughter of Captain Edmund and Sally (Wesson) Morse, who began her earthly pilgrimage on September 2, 1787. The father was a native of our town,

and principally through his influence the name of Groton was given to the home of his adoption among the foot-hills of the Green Mountains. Wells River runs through the township in a southeasterly direction, and with its tributaries affords some excellent water-power along its course. This stream rises in Groton Pond, a beautiful sheet of water, and empties into the Connecticut at Wells River Junction, a railway centre of some importance.

My visit to the town was made on July 26, 1890, and while there I called on the Honorable Isaac Newton Hall, one of the oldest and most prominent citizens of the place, who kindly took me in his buggy through the village, pointing out on the way the various objects of public interest. Mr. Hall, to whom I was under great obligations, died in Chicago, while there on a visit, November 30, 1893, aged 85 years and 6 months. The Methodist Episcopal Church, situated at one end of the village street, had some memorial windows, of which two had inscriptions, as follows:—

Capt · Edmund · Morse
Born · Groton · Mass · 1764
Died · Groton · Vt · 1843

Sally · Morse · Hill
Born · 1787 — Died · 1864
The · First · Person · Born · in · Groton

Before leaving the place I walked through the burying-ground and examined some of the epitaphs, but none of the names reminded me particularly of the parent town.

The next town of the name is Groton, Erie County, Ohio, which was settled about the year 1809. It was first called Wheatsborough, after a Mr. Wheats, who originally owned most of the township. It lies in the region known as the Fire Lands of Ohio, a tract of half a million acres given by the State of Connecticut in May, 1792, to those of her citizens who had suffered losses from the enemy during the Revolution. Like many other places in the neighborhood, the town took its name from the one in Connecticut.

Late in the autumn of 1889 I happened to be in Nashville, Tennessee, as a member of a committee on business connected with the Peabody Normal College in that city, of which ex-President Hayes was chairman. On telling him incidentally that on my return homeward I purposed to tarry for a day or two at Groton, Erie County, Ohio, he kindly invited me to make him a visit at his home in Fremont, which was very near my objective point; and he said furthermore that he would accompany me on my trip to that town, which offer I readily accepted. On the morning of November 27 we left Fremont by rail for Norwalk, the shire town of Huron County, — a county in which the township of Groton formerly came, — where we alighted, and at once repaired to the rooms of the Firelands Historical Society. Here we were met by several gentlemen, prominent in the city as well as in the Historical Society, who showed us many attentions. We had an opportunity there to examine various objects of interest connected with the early history of that part of the State. Then taking the cars again on our return, we proceeded as far as Bellevue, where we left the train. Here at a livery-stable we engaged a buggy and a pair of horses, without knowing exactly to what part of the township I wished to go, as I was then told that there was no village of Groton, but only scattered farms throughout the town. One man, however, said that there was a place called Groton Centre, which name seemed to me very familiar, and so thither we directed our course. After driving over muddy roads for five or six miles, we inquired at a farm-house the way to Groton Centre, where we were told that a school-house in sight, half a mile off, was the desired place. There was no village whatever to be seen in any direction; and the building was the public voting-place, on which account the neighborhood received the name. The town is entirely agricultural in its character, and the land is largely prairie with a rich soil. It is small in population, and does not contain even a post-office. The inhabitants for their postal facilities depend on Bellevue

and Sandusky, adjacent places. I was told that its early settlers came largely from Connecticut and Pennsylvania; and I thought that I could detect the origin of some of them by the different styles of construction as seen in their houses and barns still standing, whether they came from the one or the other of the two States.

Another town bearing the good name of Groton, which I have visited, is the one in Tompkins County, New York. More than eighteen years ago I found myself at Cortland, Cortland County, New York, where I had gone in order to see the venerable Mrs. Sarah Chaplin Rockwood, a native of this town. She was a daughter of the Reverend Dr. Chaplin, the last minister settled by the town, and at that time she was almost one hundred and two years old. By a coincidence she was then living on Groton Avenue, a thoroughfare which leads to Groton, Tompkins County, a town ten miles distant. Taking advantage of my nearness to that place, on May 4, 1887, I drove there and was set down at the Groton Hotel, where I passed the night. Soon after my arrival I took a stroll through the village, and then called on Marvin Morse Baldwin, Esq., a lawyer of prominence, and the author of an historical sketch of the place, published in 1868, but who is now deceased. The town was formed originally, on April 7, 1817, from Locke, Cayuga County, under the name of Division; but during the next year this was changed to Groton, on the petition of the inhabitants, some of whom were from Groton, Massachusetts, and others from Groton, Connecticut. The principal village is situated on Owasco Inlet, a small stream, and is surrounded by a rolling country of great beauty. The population is small, and the business chiefly confined to a machine-shop and foundry, several carriage-shops, and the making of agricultural implements. The town supports a National Bank and also a weekly newspaper, and has railway communication with other places.

In all these visits to the several towns of the same name, I have interested myself to learn the local pronunciation

of the word. I have asked many persons in all ranks of life and grades of society in regard to the matter, and without exception they have given it "Gráw-ton," which every "native here, and to the manner born" knows so well how to pronounce. It has never been Grōw-ton, or Grōt-ton even, but always with a broad sound on the first and accented syllable. Such was the old pronunciation in England, and by the continuity of custom and tradition the same has been kept up throughout the various settlements in this country bearing the name.

The latest town aspiring to the honor of the name of Groton is in Brown County, South Dakota. It was laid out about twenty-two years ago on land owned by the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company. I have been informed that various New England names were selected by the Company and given to different townships along the line, not for personal or individual reasons, but because they were short and well sounding, and unlike any others in the Territory of that period.

At some future day, if my life be spared long enough, I may pay my respects to this youngest child of the name and visit her township. In that case I will describe her personality and place her in the family group with her elder sisters.

During two centuries and a half — the long period of time now under consideration — many changes have taken place in the customs and manners of our people. Some of these are entirely forgotten, and traces of them are found only in the records of the past; and I purpose to allude to a few. In this way a survival of their knowledge may be kept up, which will help the present generation in some degree to catch the attitude of its ancestors.

In the early days of New England marriages were performed by magistrates only, or by other officers appointed for that particular purpose. It was many years before ministers of the Gospel were allowed to take part in the ceremony. At a town meeting held here, on December 15, 1669, the selectmen were authorized "to petition to the

[General] Court for one to marry persons in our towne "; and it is probable that before this time persons wishing to be joined in wedlock were obliged either to go elsewhere in order to carry out their intention, or else a magistrate or other officer was brought for the occasion. At that period the population of the town was small, and the marriages were few in number; and before this date only eight couples are found as recorded of Groton. Perhaps these marriages were solemnized by a Commissioner of Small Causes, who was authorized equally with a magistrate to conduct the ceremony. These officers were empowered to act in all cases within the jurisdiction of a magistrate, and were approved, either by the Court of Assistants or by the County Courts, on the request of any town where there was no resident magistrate. They were three in number in each of such towns, and were chosen by the freemen.

Another instance of a change in early customs is found in connection with funerals, which formerly were conducted with severe simplicity. Our pious forefathers were opposed to all ecclesiastical rites, and any custom that reminded them of the English church met with their stern disapproval. And, furthermore, prayers over a corpse were very suggestive of those offered up for the dead by the Roman church; and to their minds such ceremonies savored strongly of heresy and superstition. A body was taken from the house to the grave, and interred without ceremony; and no religious services were held. Funeral prayers in New England were first made in the smaller towns before they were in the larger places, though Chief-Justice Sewall, in his *Diary* (i. 93), under date of August 19, 1685, gives an early instance which happened at Roxbury. In describing the services he says that "Mr. Wilson prayed with the Company before they went to the Grave." Their introduction into Boston was of so uncommon occurrence that it caused some comment in a newspaper, as the following extract from "The Boston Weekly News-Letter," December 31, 1730, will show:—

Yesterday were Buried here the Remains of that truly honourable & devout Gentlewoman, Mrs. SARAH BYFIELD, amidst the affectionate Respects & Lamentations of a numerous Concourse. — Before carrying out the Corpse, a Funeral Prayer was made, by one of the Pastors of the *Old Church*, to whose Communion she belong'd; which, tho' a Custom in the Country-Towns, is a singular Instance in this place, but it's wish'd may prove a leading Example to the general Practice of so christian & decent a Custom.

At a funeral the coffin was carried upon a bier to the place of interment by pall-bearers, who from time to time were relieved by others walking at their side. The bearers usually were kinsfolk or intimate friends of the deceased; and they were followed by the mourners and neighbors, who walked two by two. After the burial the bier was left standing over the grave ready for use when occasion should again require.

Many years ago an old citizen of this town told me that once he served as a pall-bearer at the funeral of a friend who died in Squannacook Village (West Groton). It took place near midsummer, in very hot weather; and he related how the procession was obliged to halt often in order to give a rest to the bearers, who during their long march were nearly prostrated by the heat.

Hearses were first introduced into Boston about 1796, and into Groton a few years later. In the warrant for the Groton town-meeting on April 4, 1803, Article No. 7 was

To see if the town will provide a herse for the town's use, and give such directions about the same as they shall think fit.

In the Proceedings of that meeting, after Article No. 7, it is recorded: —

Voted that the town will provide a herse for the Town's use.

Voted and chose James Brazer, Esq^r Jacob L. Parker, and Joseph Sawtell 3^d a Committee and directed them to provide a decent herse at the Town's expence.

From the earliest period of our Colonial history training-days were appointed by the General Court for the drilling of soldiers; and at intervals the companies used to come together as a regiment and practise various military exercises. From this custom sprang the regimental muster, so common before the War of the Rebellion.

During a long time, and particularly in the early part of the nineteenth century, many such musters were held here. A training-field often used for the purpose was the plain, situated near the Hollingsworth Paper-mills, a mile and a half northerly from the village. Sometimes they were held on the easterly side of the road, and at other times on the westerly side. During my boyhood musters took place, twice certainly, on the eastern slope of the hill on the south side of the Broad Meadow Road near Farmers' Row; and also, once certainly, in the field lying southeast of Lawrence Academy, near where Powder House Road now runs.

Musters have been held on land back of the late Charles Jacobs's house, and, in the autumn of 1850, in a field near the dwelling where Benjamin Moors used to live, close by James's Brook, in the south part of the town. The last one in Groton, or the neighborhood even, took place on September 13 and 14, 1852, and was held in the south part of the town, near the line of the Fitchburg Railroad on its northerly side, some distance east of the station. This was a muster of the Fifth Regiment of Light Infantry, and occurred while Mr. Boutwell was Governor of the Commonwealth; and I remember well the reception which he gave to the officers on the intervening evening at his house, built during the preceding year.

Akin to the subject of military matters, was a custom which formerly prevailed in some parts of Massachusetts, and perhaps elsewhere, of celebrating occasionally the anniversary of the surrender of Yorktown, which falls on October 19. Such a celebration was called a "Cornwallis"; and it was intended to represent, in a burlesque manner, the siege of the town, as well as the ceremony of

its surrender. The most prominent generals on each side would be personated, while the men of the two armies would wear what was supposed to be their peculiar uniform. I can recall now more than one such sham fight that took place in this town during my boyhood. In 10 Cushing, 252, is to be found a decision of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, enjoining a town treasurer from paying money that had been appropriated for such a celebration.

James Russell Lowell, in his Glossary to "The Biglow Papers," thus defines the word: "Cornwallis, *a sort of muster in masquerade*; supposed to have had its origin soon after the Revolution, and to commemorate the surrender of Lord Cornwallis. It took the place of the old Guy Fawkes procession." Speaking in the character of Hosea Biglow, he asks,

Recollect wut fun we hed, you 'n' I an' Ezry Hollis
Up there to Waltham plain last fall, along o' the Cornwallis?

He further says in a note: "i hait the Sight of a feller with a muskit as I du pizn But their *is* fun to a cornwallis I aint agoin' to deny it."

The last Cornwallis in this immediate neighborhood came off about sixty years ago at Pepperell; and I remember witnessing it. Another Cornwallis on a large scale occurred at Clinton in the year 1853, in which nine uniformed companies of militia, including the Groton Artillery, took part. On this occasion the burlesque display, both in numbers and details, far outshone all former attempts of a similar character, and, like the song of a swan, ended a custom that had come down from a previous century. At the present day nothing is left of this quaint celebration but a faded memory and an uncertain tradition.

The first settlers of Massachusetts brought with them from England a good supply of seeds and stones of various fruits, grains, and vegetables, which were duly planted. In this way was begun the cultivation of apples, pears, peaches, plums, cherries, wheat, rye, barley, oats, beans,

peas, potatoes, hops, currants, etc., and in the course of a few years they raised fair crops of all these products.

As early as 1660 all inn-holders and tavern-keepers were required to have a license in order to be allowed to carry on their business; and they were obliged to be approbated by the selectmen of the town and to be licensed by the County Court. At the same time a restriction was placed on makers of cider, who were not allowed to sell by retail, except under certain conditions; "and that it be only to masters of families of good and honest report, or persons going to Sea, and they suffer not any person to drink the same in their houses, cellars or yards." This reference, found in "The Book of the General Lawes and Libertyes" (Cambridge, 1660), shows that at an early date in the history of the Colony the prohibitory principle was recognized by legislative enactment, and that it is by no means a modern idea. The reference shows furthermore that cider was made by the settlers at an early period. Few persons of the rising generation are aware of the great quantities of cider made fifty or seventy-five years ago on almost every farm in an agricultural community. I am placing the estimate within moderate bounds when I say that every good-sized farm in Groton had an apple orchard and a cider mill on the premises. Many a farmer would make all the way from ten to thirty barrels of cider for home use, besides what he would sell elsewhere or make into vinegar; and this large stock was kept in the cellar. There are now in this audience men and women who remember how years ago they used to suck sweet cider through a long rye straw, as it ran from the press. At such times the children were often as thick as honey bees round the bung-hole of a hogshead of molasses in summer time.

Many plants were brought originally to New England from other countries for their medicinal virtues, and many were introduced by chance. Some have multiplied so rapidly and grown so plentifully in the fields and by the roadside, that they are now considered common weeds. Wormwood,

tansy, chamomile, yarrow, dandelion, burdock, plantain, catnip, and mint all came here by importation. These exotic plants made their way into the interior, as fast as civilization extended in that direction; though in some instances the seeds may have been carried by birds in their flight.

Dr. William Douglass, in "A Summary, Historical and Political, of the first Planting, progressive Improvements, and present State of the British Settlements in North America," published at Boston (Volume I. in the year 1749, and Volume II. in 1753), says:—

Near *Boston* and other great Towns, some Field Plans which accidentally have been imported from Europe, spread much, and are a great Nuisance in Pastures, . . . at present they have spread Inland from *Boston*, about 30 Miles (ii. 207).

According to this statement, the pioneers of some of these foreign plants or weeds had already reached the township of Groton near the middle of the eighteenth century. Dr. Douglass gives another fact about the town which may be worthy of preservation, as follows:—

There are some actual Surveys of Extents which ought not to be lost in Oblivion; as for Instance, from *Merrimack* River due West to *Groton* Meeting-House are 12 miles; from *Groton* Meeting House (as surveyed by Col. *Stoddard*, Major *Fulham*, and Mr. *Dwight*, by Order of the General Assembly) to Northfield Meeting-House W. 16 d. N. by Compass, are 41 Miles and half (i. 425 *note*).

Such surveys, as those given in this extract, before the days of railroads were of more interest to the public than they are now; but, as the author says, they "ought not to be lost in Oblivion."

The greatest advance in social and moral life during the last one hundred and twenty-five years has been in the cause of temperance. Soon after the period of the Revolution there arose an abuse of spirituous liquors, perhaps induced in part by the return home of young men from the

army, who while absent had acquired the habit of drinking to excess. There was no public occasion, from a wedding to a funeral, or from the ordination of a minister to the raising of a house or barn, when rum in its many Protean shapes was not given out. It was set on the festive side-board, and used freely both by the old and young; and sometimes even the pastor of the church yielded to the insidious seduction of the stimulant. Liquors were sold at retail at most of the trading-shops in town, and at the three taverns in the village. The late Elizur Wright, an eminent statistician, and nearly eighty years ago a resident of Groton, once told me in writing that, according to an estimate made by him at that period, the amount of New England rum sold here in one year was somewhat over 28,000 gallons. This quantity applied to rum only, — at that time the common tipple in the average country village, — and did not include other alcoholic stimulants. The amount was not a guess on his part, but was taken from the books of dealers in the fluid, who had kindly complied with his request for the amount of their sales during the previous year; though it should be added that some of the buyers lived in neighboring towns. *Ex pede Herculem.* We judge of the whole from the specimen.

It is generally supposed that the huge department stores in the large cities are a modern institution, so far as they relate to the variety of articles sold; but in this respect they are only an imitation of the old-time country store. Fifty years ago the average trading-shop kept about everything that was sold, from a pin to a plough, from silks and satins to stoves and shovels, and from tea and coffee to tin dippers and cotton drilling, flour, all kinds of dry-goods and groceries, molasses, raisins, bricks, cheese, hats, nails, sperm oil, grindstones, boots and shoes, drugs and medicines, to say nothing of a supply of confectionery for children; besides a daily barter of any of the aforesaid articles for butter and fresh eggs. The traders were omnivorous in their dealings, and they kept on hand nearly everything that was asked for by the customers. In this respect they

have set an example to the proprietors of department stores, who offer for sale an equally miscellaneous assortment of goods.

Within the last three-quarters of a century, perhaps the most useful invention given to mankind, certainly one very widely used, has been the common friction match. Apparently it is so trifling and inconspicuous that among the great discoveries of the nineteenth century it is likely to be overlooked. This little article is so cheap that no hovel or hamlet throughout Christendom is ever without it, and yet so useful that it is found in every house or mansion, no matter how palatial, and in every vessel that sails the sea. Bunches of matches are made by the millions and billions, and broad acres of forests are cut down each year to supply the wood; and in every home they are used without regard to waste or economy. "No correct statistics of match making can be given, but it has been estimated that six matches a day for each individual of the population of Europe and North America is the average consumption." (The American Cyclopædia, New York, 1883.) Perhaps no other invention of the last century comes so nearly in touch with the family and household in all parts of the civilized world as this necessity of domestic life.

I have mentioned these facts in some detail as the friction match has had such a close connection with country life in New England, as elsewhere. In early days when fire was kept on the domestic hearth, from month to month and from year to year, by covering up live coals with ashes, sometimes from one cause or another it would go out; and then it was necessary to visit a neighbor to "borrow fire," as the expression was. If the distance was short, live coals might be brought on a shovel; but if too far, a lighted candle could be carried in a tin lantern and would furnish the needed flame. Often a flint-and-steel was used for striking fire, but sometimes even this useful article was wanting. I have heard of instances where a man would fire off a gun into a wad of tow and set it on fire, and thus get the desired spark to start the blaze.

Another invention, which has come into general use within the last sixty years, and has changed the destinies of the world, is Morse's electric telegraph. In the sending of messages it practically annihilates space, and has worked wonders in science and in the every-day affairs of life. By means of it the words of Puck become a reality when he says:

I'll put a girdle round about the Earth
In forty minutes.

If the ocean telegraph had been in operation at that time, the battle of New Orleans, on January 8, 1815, would not have been fought. It took place a fortnight after the treaty of peace had been signed at Ghent, though the tidings of the treaty were not received in this country until a month after the action. The chances are that Andrew Jackson would never have been President of the United States if he had not gained that battle; nor would Martin Van Buren have succeeded to the same high office if as Secretary of State or as Vice-President he had not been associated with Jackson. This will serve as an illustration of the influence which the telegraph may have on human affairs.

Little short of fifty years ago I spent an evening with Professor Morse at his rooms in Paris, and he told me a thrilling tale of the circumstances which led up to his great discovery of the application of electricity to the sending of messages; and how the thought first came to him many years before, when in a packet ship on the voyage from Havre to New York. I have often regretted that I did not then write down at once my recollections of the visit, while they were fresh in memory; but unfortunately I did not do so.

A telegraph office in this village was opened on Saturday, March 20, 1880, and the first message along its wires was sent to Nashua, New Hampshire. The office was in the railway station, where it has since remained.

The telephone office here was first opened on Friday, April 29, 1881, in the building at the south corner of Main

Street and Station Avenue, where it still remains; and there are now more than one hundred and twenty subscribers to the line, who in the ordinary activities of life use the modern method of talking with their unseen friends.

By the side of the investigations connected with this address I am reminded that the First Parish Meeting-house is now one hundred and fifty years old. During one half of this period it was the only designated place of worship within the limits of the town; and for these seventy-five years it was the centre of the religious life of the people. From its walls went forth all the efforts that made for the highest and noblest traits of human nature. It was the fourth meeting-house used by the town, and stands on the site of the third building, a spot which was by no means the unanimous choice of the town when that structure was built; and the usual controversy then took place over the site. It was begun in 1714, and was two years in process of building. In early times there was always much contention in regard to the local position of the house, some wanting it put in one place, and others in another, according to the convenience of their respective families. Mr. Butler, in his *History of Groton*, says: "But the momentous affairs of deciding upon a spot on which to set a public building, and choosing and settling a minister, are not usually accomplished without much strife and contention, and are sometimes attended with long and furious quarrels and expensive lawsuits" (p. 306). The Reverend Joseph Emerson, the first minister of Groton West Parish, now known as Pepperell, explains the cause thus: "It hath been observed that some of the hottest contentions in this land hath been about settling of ministers and building meeting-houses; and what is the reason? The devil is a great enemy to settling ministers and building meeting-houses; wherefore he sets on his own children to work and make difficulties, and to the utmost of his power stirs up the corruptions of the children of God in some way to oppose or obstruct so good a work."

With no desire on my part to dispute Mr. Emerson's theory in regard to this matter, I think that the present generation would hardly accept his explanation as the correct one.

For some months, perhaps for one or two years, before the present house of worship was built, the question of a new structure was considered and discussed at town-meetings. It was then in the air, and finally the matter took concrete shape. On May 6, 1754, the town made definite plans for a raising of the frame; and on such occasions at that period of time rum was supposed to be needed, not only to bring together a crowd to help along the work, but also to give strength to the workers. At that meeting the following vote was passed: —

at a Legal meeting of the Inhabitants at Groton qualleyfied by Law for voting in Town affairs assembled Chose Cap^t bancroft moderator for s^d meeting

The question was put which way they would face the meetinghouse and the major vote was for facing s^d house to the west

Voted that The meeting house Com^{tee} provide one hogshhead of Rum one Loaf of white Shuger one quarter of a hundread of brown Shugar also voted that Deacon Stone Deacon farwell Lt Isaac woods benje Stone Lt John Woods Cap^t Sam^l Tarbell Amos Lawrence Ensign Obadiah Parker Cap^t bancroft be a Com^{tee} and to provide Victuals and Drink for a hundread men and If the people Dont subscribe anough then the Com^{tee} to purchas the Remainder up on the Towns Cost.

Voted that The Com^{tee} that Got the Timber for The meeting house haue Liberty with such as shall subscribe thear to to build a porch at the front Dore of the meeting house up on their own Cost

Then voted that the Select men provide some Conuiant place to meet in upon the Sabbath Till further order.

According to Joseph Farwell's note-book the raising took place on May 22, 1754, — which day fell on Wednesday, — and lasted until Saturday, May 25. It is to be hoped that during these three days no accident happened on account of the liquid stimulant. Probably the work on the build-

ing was pushed with all the speed then possible and available; and, probably too, it was used for worship long before it was finished. During this period of interruption in the public services it is very likely that the Sunday meetings were held at the house of the minister, Mr. Trowbridge, who then lived near the site of the present High School building.

According to Farwell's note-book, on August 18, 1754, Mrs. Sarah Dickinson became a member of the church, the first person so admitted in the new meeting-house. She was the widow of James Dickinson, who had died only a few weeks before, and was buried in the old graveyard. According to the same authority, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered in the new building for the first time on November 15, 1754.

The early settlers did not believe much in outward ceremony; and the new meeting-house was never formally dedicated by a special service. Perhaps, when the house was first opened for worship, Mr. Trowbridge preached a sermon in keeping with the occasion; and very likely in his prayer he made some allusion to the event. We are told that the prayer of the righteous man availeth much. The homage paid to the Creator of the universe each Sunday, both by the pulpit and the pews, would consecrate any such structure to its high purpose. Simple in their religious faith, the worshippers had no use for ecclesiastical forms. Not alone by their words, but by their thoughts, they dedicated the meeting-house. Sometimes words not spoken have more meaning than those which are uttered.

The Common, in front of the present meeting-house, was a place closely connected with the life of the town. Here at an early period the two militia companies used to meet and drill at regular times, known as training-days. On the Common the two companies of minute-men rallied on the morning of that eventful nineteenth of April, and received their ammunition from the town's stock, which was stored in the Powder-house near by. Here they took farewell of friends and families, knowing full well the responsible

duties that rested on their shoulders, and the dangers that threatened them. These men marched hence on that memorable day as British subjects, but they came back as independent citizens who never knew again the authority of a king.

In that house Mr. Dana, a young and rising lawyer of Groton, pronounced a eulogy on General Washington, which was delivered on Saturday, February 22, 1800, a few weeks after his death. The military companies of the town attended the exercises. Miss Elizabeth Farnsworth (1791-1884) as a little girl was present on the occasion, and Mrs. Sarah (Capell) Gilson (1793-1890), though not present at the exercises, remembered the event; and they both gave me their faint recollections of the day.

The meeting-house was remodelled in the year 1839, when it was partially turned round, and the north end of the building made the front, facing the west, as it now stands. Formerly the road to the easterly part of the town went diagonally across the Common, and passed down the hill to the south of the meeting-house; and there was no highway on the north side. Before this change in the building was made, the town-meetings were always held in the body of the house; and the voting was done in front of the pulpit. In my mind's eye I can see now the old pulpit, with the sounding-board overhead, which I well remember.

The town-clock in the steeple, so familiar to every man, woman, and child in Groton, was made by James Ridgway, and placed in the tower some time during the spring of 1809. It was paid for in part by the town, and in part by private subscription. Mr. Ridgway was a silversmith and a clock-maker, who during the war with England (1812-1815) carried on a large business in this neighborhood. He afterward removed to Keene, New Hampshire, where he lived for many years. His shop was situated on Main Street, nearly opposite to the Groton Inn, but it disappeared a long time ago.

The bell of the meeting-house was cast in the year 1819 by Revere and Son, Boston, and, according to the inscription, weighs 1128 pounds.

On this interesting occasion we are all glad to have present with us the venerable Zara Patch, a native of Groton and the oldest inhabitant of the town. His ancestry in both branches of the family runs back nearly to the beginning of the settlement, and in his person is represented some of the best blood of old Groton stock; and we welcome him at this time. He is the last survivor of nineteen citizens who signed the call for the due observance of the bi-centennial anniversary, on October 31, 1855, which was issued in the preceding May.

Fifty years ago the town had a celebration of the two-hundredth anniversary of its settlement, similar to the one we are now holding. On that occasion Governor Boutwell was President of the day, and the Reverend Arthur Buckminster Fuller, a younger brother of Margaret Fuller, — of a family once resident here, — made the historical address, which was delivered in the Congregational Meeting-house. Colonel Eusebius Silsby Clark, who lost his life in the War of the Rebellion, at Winchester, Virginia, on October 17, 1864, was the Chief Marshal. Of his six aids on that day John Warren Parker and myself are the sole survivors, and the only representatives of those who had an official connection with the exercises; and now we are left the last two leaves on the branch. At that celebration Mr. Parker was also one of the Committee of Arrangements; and we are all glad to see him present on this occasion.

Groton is a small town, but there are those who love her and cherish her good name and fame. She has been the mother of many a brave son and many a fair daughter, dutiful children who through generations "arise up and call her blessed." She is the Mount Zion of a large household. Of her numerous family, from the nursling to the aged, by her example she has spared no pains to make them useful citizens and worthy members of society.

In former years she was relatively a much more important town than she is now. At the time of the first national census in 1790, in population Groton was the second town in Middlesex County, Cambridge alone surpassing it. In order to learn the true value of some communities, and to give the inhabitants of Groton their proper rank, they should be weighed and not counted; and by this standard it will be found that the town has not lost even in relative importance. Bigness and greatness by no means are synonymous words, and in their significance there is a wide difference. In all our thoughts and all our deeds, let us do as well by the town as she has done by us.

Fellow Townsmen and Neighbors, — the stint you set me is now done. On my part it has proved to be not a task, but a labor of love. If anything that I may have said shall spur others to study the history of an old town that was typical of life among plain folk in the early days of New England, and one that has left an honorable record during the various periods of its existence, my aim will have been reached.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

The Name of Groton

I AM indebted to the courtesy of Dr. Edward Mussey Hartwell for the following paper on the origin of the name of Groton. From any other source I could not have obtained such a scholarly essay on the subject; and it places me under great obligations to him. Dr. Hartwell passed his boyhood in Littleton, where his father's family belonged; and he fitted for college mostly at Lawrence Academy, so that he has inherited an historical interest in the neighborhood.

STATISTICS DEPARTMENT.
BOSTON, July 3, 1905.

HON. SAMUEL A. GREEN, Librarian,
Massachusetts Historical Society.

DEAR DR. GREEN, — What follows contains the gist of my notes on Groton. For the sake of conciseness and brevity, I forbear (1) from fully describing the sources whence my citations are derived, and (2) from quotation of authorities regarding the linguistic affinities of the components of the word Groton. However, I may say that I can support every statement by documentary evidence that seems conclusive to me.

Groton occurs as a place name both in England and the United States. Groton in England, which is situated in the County of Suffolk, appears to be a small parish of some 1560 acres, of which 39 are in common. The "Dictionnaire des Bureaux de Poste" published at Berne in 1895, gives six post-offices in various parts of the United States having the name of Groton. Two of them, viz., Groton, Massachusetts, and Groton, Connecticut, date from Colonial times, i. e., from 1655 and 1705 respectively, and numbered among their original grantees or proprietors members of the Winthrop family whose ancestral seat was Groton in the Babenberg Hundred, County Suffolk, England, whence it is reasonable to suppose all Grotons in this country have derived their name. Among them Groton, Mass., is the most ancient. The name (spelt *Groaten*) appears

in a vote of the General Court dated May 29, 1655, to grant a new plantation at Petapawag to Mr. Deane Winthrop and others. In later records of the General Court, e. g., May 26, 1658, the form *Groten* appears; and in the same records under date of November 12, 1659, both *Groten* and *Grooten* appear.

The Manor of Groton in Babenberg Hundred in the Liberty of St. Edmund and the County of Suffolk, England, according to the Domesday Book (1086) belonged to the Abbey of Bury St. Edmund's in the time of Edward the Confessor (1042-1065). In 1544 the request of Adam Wyntonhorpe to purchase "the Farm of the Manor of Groton (Suffolk) late of the Monastery of Bury St. Edmund's" was granted by Henry VIII. (into whose hands it had come when the monasteries were suppressed) for the sum of £408. 18s. 3d. Governor John Winthrop, grandson of Adam Wyntonhorpe, was Lord of the Manor of Groton in 1618. In 1630 or 1631 he sold his interest therein for £4,200. I find the name of this manor spelt variously at different times as follows:

1. *Grotena* (a) in Domesday Book in 1086.
 (b) in Jocelin de Brakelond's Chronicle in 1200.
 (c) in the Hundred Rolls in 1277.
2. *Grotene* (a) in Joc. de Brakelond about 1200.
 (b) in the Patent Rolls, 1291 and 1298.
3. *Grotona* in Joc. de Brakelond about 1200.
4. *Grotone* (a) in Joc. de Brakelond about 1200.
 (b) in the Patent Rolls in 1423.
 (c) in Dugdale's citation of a MS. of 1533.
5. *Groton* (a) in Dugdale's citation of a MS. of 14th Century.
 (b) in Records of the Augmentation Office, 1541 and 1544.

Jocelin de Brakelond was a monk of Bury St. Edmund's who, as Chaplain of the Abbot, wrote the Chronicle which bears his name. It covers the period 1173-1203, i. e., the incumbency of Abbot Samson. The frequent mention of Groton in this Chronicle, written just at the beginning of the thirteenth century, may be accounted for by the fact that the Abbey and certain claimants named de Cokefeld had a law-suit over lands at Groton.

Since 1541 Groton appears to have been the form of the name of the English manor, parish or hamlet. It may be remarked: (1) that "de *Grotena*" is found as a personal name in the Hundred Rolls, 1297; and "de *Grotton*" in the Scotch Rolls, 1327; while a holding named *Grotton*, "late of the Monastery

of Delacres in Staffordshire," is mentioned in the records of the Augmentation Office, 1547; and Grotton, a railway station in Lancashire, is mentioned in a "Comprehensive Gazetteer of England and Wales," a recent but undated work.

The Latinized "in Grotena" and "Grotenam" of the Domesday Book give rise to the suggestion that *Groten* has the force of an adjective (meaning gravelly, gritty, stony or sandy), which served to characterize a tract of land, or perhaps a hill, a pit, a ham, or a ton. I take *grot* to be one form of the Old English *greót*, *grut* (Middle English, *greet*, *gret*, and Modern English, *grit*), meaning gravel.

The following is a series of forms in which variants of *greót* seem to have an adjectival force:

- (1) *Greotan* edescas lond, relating to land in Kent, in a charter dated 822. Possibly *greotan* may stand for *greatan*, meaning big.
- (2) *Gretenlinkes*, in Hampshire, in a land charter of 966.
- (3) *Gretindun* (later *Gretton* in Dorsetshire), mentioned in a charter of 1019.
- (4) *Gretenhowe*, the name of *Gretna* in Scotland, in 1376.
- (5) *Grotintune*, a manor in Shropshire, Domesday Book, 1086.
- (6) *Gratenton* (?), a manor in Berkshire, Domesday Book, 1086.

On the other hand, the form *Greotan* may be the dative plural of *greot* (for *greotum*?) used in a locative sense "at the gravels," since *Gravelai* and *Gravelci* occur as place names in Domesday Book and *Gravell* occurs in the Hundred Rolls, temp. Edw. I.

The following scheme, derived from various standard lexicons, exhibits the etymological affinities of *Greot* (*grit*):

Old	Middle	Modern
Saxon <i>Griot</i> , <i>griet</i> , <i>greot</i> ,	cf. English and German,	cf. English, German and Norse.
English <i>Greót</i> , <i>grut</i> , <i>grot</i> ,	<i>Greót</i> , <i>Greet</i> , <i>grit</i> , <i>gryt</i> , <i>gret</i> ,	<i>Grit</i> , <i>grot</i> , <i>grout</i> .
High German <i>Grioz</i> ,	<i>Griesz</i> ,	<i>Gries</i> , <i>Gruse</i> , <i>Graus</i> .
Norse:		
Icelandic <i>Grjót</i> (<i>griot</i>), <i>Grjót</i>		<i>Grjot</i> , <i>Grytt</i> n.
Danish and		
Norwegian <i>Grjót</i> ,	<i>Grjót</i> , <i>Gryt</i> (e),	<i>Gruus</i> , <i>Grus</i> , <i>Grytt</i> n.
Swedish		<i>Grus</i> , <i>Grytt</i> .
Old Frisian <i>gret</i> .		
Low German <i>grott</i> .		

Grot, for *greót*, appears to be an old and rather rare form. It should be stated that British place (and personal) names having *Gret* are much more numerous than those having *Grot* in the first syllable. Gretton is the name of several manors mentioned in Domesday, e. g., the present Girton (formerly called Gritton) (cf. Girton College), near Cambridge (Cambs.) and Gretton in Northamptonshire, still called Gretton. The last was Gretton (gryttune in 1060), Greton in 1086, Gretton in 1277, 1678, and 1895.

Other forms besides Gretton are: Gret-á = Gritwater, a stream in Cumberland, cf. Greta-marsc (= Grit-water-marsh?), 821; Greta-bridge = Gritwater bridge, Gret-ford, Gret-ham, Gret-land, Gret-well. Southey, the poet, lived at Greta Hall.

Gretá river in Cumberland had its counterpart in *Grjótá*, in the eleventh century in Iceland, translated Gritwater by Dasent in "*The Burnt Nial*." Gryttubakki = Gravel hill or Gravel bank, is the name of (1) a modern post-office in Iceland and (2) another in Denmark. Grytten is a place name of today in Norway.

The Icelandic (Old Norse) *Grjót-garth* meant stone fence. Akin to *garth* (gard) are the Norwegian *gaard* and Swedish *gård*, a landed estate or homestead; and the English Cloister-garth, yard, garden, and orchard (ort-geard).

Ton in Groton, Boston, etc., is related to M. E. Ton (Tone), O. E. tun, tune, O. Norse tún, O. Frisian tún, O. H. German taun, and German zaun, a hedge or fence. Ton and tun originally meaning an enclosing hedge or fence, meant also, field, yard, manor, hamlet, village and town or city.

Garth (yard) presents a parallel series of similar meanings, e. g., O. Norse for Constantinople was Myckel-gaard, i. e., the Great City.

I think that Groton stands for Grot-ton (cf. Gretton, Gritton) and is practically equivalent to the Icelandic *Grjót-garth*, and that your suggestion in 1876 as to the meaning of Groton was a happy one. *Floreat Grotena!*

Yours faithfully,

EDWARD M. HARTWELL.

List of Indian Words

The following Indian names, applied by the early settlers to streams, ponds, or places, in the original township of Groton and neighborhood, for the most part are still in common use. The spelling of these words varies, as at first they were written according to their sound and not according to their derivation. In the absence of any correct standard either of spelling or pronunciation, which always characterizes an unwritten language, the words have become so twisted and distorted that much of their original meaning is lost; but their root generally remains. It is rare to find an Indian word in an early document spelled twice alike. In the lapse of time these verbal changes have been so great that an Indian now would hardly recognize any of them by sound. Even with all these drawbacks such words furnish one of the few links in a chain of historical facts connecting modern times with the prehistoric period of New England. As the shards that lie scattered around the site of old Indian dwellings are eagerly picked up by the archæologist for critical examination, so these isolated facts about place-names are worth saving by the antiquary for their philological value. "Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost."

Babbittasset — formerly the name of a village in Pepperell, now included in East Pepperell.

Baddacook — a pond in the eastern part of the town.

Catacoonamug — a stream in Shirley, which empties into the Nashua.

Chicopee — a district in the northerly part of the town, and applied to the highway approaching it, called Chicopee Row.

Hunhaw — a brook in Westford.

Kissacook — a hill in Westford.

Massapoag — a pond lying partly in Groton and partly in Dunstable.

Mulpus — a brook in Shirley.

Nagog — a pond in Littleton.

Nashoba — the old name of the Praying Indian village in Littleton, now applied to a hill in that town as well as to a brook in Westford.

Nashua — a river running through the township, and emptying into the Merrimack.

Naumox — a district, near the Longley monument, lying west of the East Pepperell road; said to have been the name of an Indian chief.

Nissitisset — applied to the neighborhood of Hollis, New Hampshire, and to a river and a hill in Pepperell.

Nonacoicus — a brook in Ayer, though formerly the name was applied to a tract of land in the southerly part of Groton, and is shortened often to Coicus.

Nubanussuck — a pond in Westford.

Petaupaukett — a name found in the original petition to the General Court for the grant of the town, and used in connection with the territory of the neighborhood; sometimes written Petapawage and Petapaway.

Quosoponagon — a meadow "on the other side of the river," mentioned in the land-grant of Thomas Tarbell, Jr.; the same word as Quasaponikin, formerly the name of a tract of land in Lancaster, but now given to a meadow and a hill in that town, where it is often contracted into Ponikin.

Shabikin, or more commonly *Shabokin*, applied to a district in Harvard, bordering on the Nashua, below Still River village.

Squannacook — a river in the western part of the town flowing into the Nashua; a name formerly applied to the village of West Groton.

Tadmuck — a brook and a meadow in Westford.

Unquetenassett, or *Unquetenorset* — a brook in the northerly part of the town; often shortened into Unquety.

Waubansconcett — another word found in the original petition for the grant of the town, and used in connection with the territory of the neighborhood.

List of Towns

established in the two Colonies, before the township of Groton was granted in 1655, together with the year when they are first mentioned in the records of the General Court.

PLYMOUTH COLONY.

1	1620	Plymouth	7	1639	Taunton
2	1633	Scituate	8	1641	Marshfield
3	1637	Duxbury	9	1643	Eastham
4	1638	Barnstable	10	1645	Rehoboth
5	"	Sandwich	11	1652	Dartmouth
6	1639	Yarmouth			

MASSACHUSETTS-BAY COLONY.

1	1630	Charlestown	19	1640	Braintree
2	"	Salem	20	"	Salisbury
3	"	Boston	21	1641	Haverhill
4	"	Dorchester	22	"	Springfield
5	"	Watertown	23	1642	Gloucester
6	"	Medford	24	"	Woburn
7	"	Roxbury	25	1643	Wenham
8	1631	Lynn	26	1644	Hull
9	"	Cambridge	27	"	Reading
10	1633	Marblehead	28	1645	Manchester
11	1634	Ipswich	29	1646	Andover
12	1635	Newbury	30	1648	Topsfield
13	"	Hingham	31	1649	Malden
14	"	Weymouth	32	1650	Medfield
15	"	Concord	33	1653	Lancaster
16	1636	Dedham	34	May, 1655	Groton
17	1639	Rowley	35	" "	Billerica
18	"	Sudbury	36	" "	Chelmsford

Distinguished Citizens

AMONG the distinguished men who have made their homes in the town of Groton are two Governors of the Commonwealth, one United States Senator, four other members of Congress, beside a Delegate to the Continental Congress, two members of the President's Cabinet, an Assistant Secretary of State, various Justices and Chief-Justices of different Courts, three Speakers of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, an Attorney-General of the Commonwealth, a President of the State Senate, and three members of the Executive Council.

English Oaks

I HAVE on my place at Groton four oak saplings growing from acorns sent me, in the autumn of 1904, from Groton, England. They are to-day rather small specimens of what they may become, if they live to maturity. When they are of suitable size, it is my intention to have them transplanted in some spots closely associated with the history of the town. It is hoped that thus they will tend to foster and keep alive an interest between the English Groton and its namesake here, — places connected by sentiment, though separated in age by centuries of time and in distance by thousands of miles.

Together with the acorns some beech-nuts also were sent me from the manor of Groton, which were duly planted, but the saplings died the second year. Several small elms came in the same collection, but none of them outlived the removal.

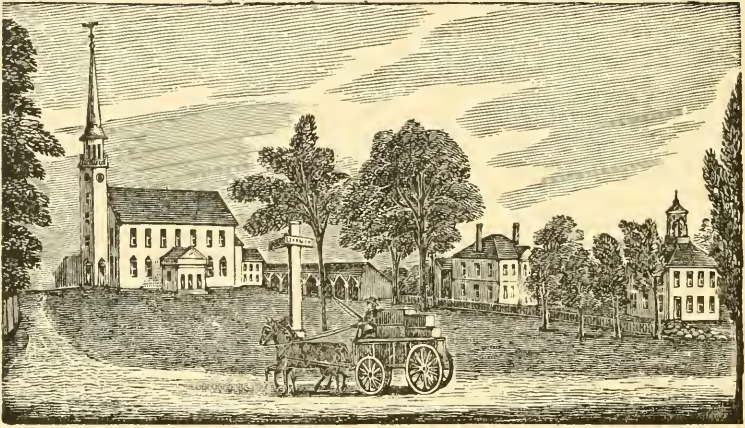


Town Seal

THIS design of a seal for the town of Groton was adopted on April 4, 1898. It is a simple one, and is intended to typify the character of the inhabitants.

The Bible represents the faith of the early settlers who went into the wilderness and suffered innumerable privations in their daily life as well as encountered many dangers from savage foes. Throughout Christendom to-day it is the cornerstone of religion and morality.

The Plough is significant of the general occupation of the inhabitants. By it the early settlers broke up the land and earned their livelihood; and ever since in the tillage of the soil it has been an invaluable help to their successors.



First Parish Meeting-House, Groton

THIS cut, taken from a drawing made in the year 1838, by John Warner Barber, originally appeared in his *Historical Collections of Massachusetts* (Worcester, 1839). It represents the First Parish Meeting-house before it was remodelled in 1839, when it was partially turned round, and the north end made the front, facing the west. The Academy building, on the right of the meeting-house, was enlarged in the autumn of 1846, and subsequently burned on July 4, 1868. The fence was built round the Common in front of the meeting-house, in the autumn of 1842, the last post being placed at the northwest corner on October 3 of that year.

INDEX

INDEX

- Abénaqui Indians, the, 36, 37, 104.
 Acadia, 51.
 Acadians in Groton, 51.
 Ahasombamet, 101.
 Albany, N. Y., 47, 109, 110, 126.
 Allen, Timothy, 81, 85, 86, 87, 89.
 Almack, Richard, 138.
 Almy, Job, 46.
 Amarascoggin, 101.
 Ames, Jacob, 49, 113.
 —, John, 49, 113.
 —, name of, 50.
 Amherst, N. H., 56, 57, 61.
 Amsaquonte, 100, 101.
 Andros, Edmund, governor of New England, 123.
 Androscoggin, 41.
 Archives of the Marine and Colonies, the, 96.
 Assacombuit, 100. See also *Nassa-combêwit*.
 Augary, John. See *Longley, John*.
 Austen, Sir Henry E., 138.
 Ayer, Mass., 133, 168.
 Baldwin, Marvin Morse, 143.
 Bambazeen (Bomaseen), 99, 101, 102.
 Bancroft, Capt. Benjamin, 155.
 —, Lieut., 39.
 —, name of, 50.
 Baptist Meeting-house (Groton), 30, 60, 92, 98.
 Barber, John W., his "Historical Collections of Massachusetts," 172.
 Barnstable, Mass., 74, 169.
 Barron, Ellis, 79, 87, 89.
 Bay, the, road to, 33, 71.
 Belcher, Gov. Jonathan, 46, 109, 128.
 Belknap, Rev. Jeremy, quoted, 58.
 Bellevue, Ohio, 142.
 Berwick, Me., 35.
 Bigelow, Hon. Timothy, 57.
 Billerica, Mass., 33, 122, 169.
 Blanchard family, the, 62.
 Blood, James, 112.
 —, John, 15.
 —, Joseph, 22.
 —, name of, 18.
 —, Richard, 15, 72, 74, 77, 86, 89, 91.
 —, Robert, 15.
 Bonat, Marguerite, 108.
 "Book of the General Lawes and Libertyes," the, 149.
 Boston, 14, 22, 25, 29, 30, 31, 34, 46, 47, 52, 61, 95, 98, 145, 146, 150, 169; census returns, 12; early route from Groton, 33; correspondence between Overseers and Groton, 53-54; stage-coach line to Groton, 60.
 "Boston News-Letter," the, quoted, 41, 145.
 Boston Public Library, the, 94.
 Boutwell, Governor, 71, 81, 119, 120, 147, 158.
 Bowers, Capt. Jerathmel, 44.
 Boxford, England, 138, 139.
 Boydon, Thomas, 87.
 Boynton, John, 122.
 Bradstreet, Lieut. Dudley, 51.
 —, Rev. Dudley, 44, 50, 51, 123.
 —, Simon, 123.
 Brakelond, Jocelin de, 164.
 Brattle, William, 97.
 —, Thomas, 25.
 Brattleborough, Vt., 51.
 Brazier, James, 146.
 "Brief History of the Warr with the Indians in New-England," Mather's, 30.
 Broad Meadow (Groton), 28, 147.
 Brookfield, Mass., 24.
 Brookline, N. H., 130.
 Brown, killed by Indians, 44.
 Browne, Benjamin, 46.
 Buffalo, N. Y., 126.
 Bulkley, John, 56.
 Bunker Hill, the battle of, 58, 106, 107.
 Butler, Caleb, 62; his "History," 15, 42, 62, 71, 99, 154.
 Butterfield, Samuel, 43, 44, 99.
 Byfield, Mrs. Sarah, 146.
 Cagnawaga Indians, the, 109.
 Caille, M., 105.
 Cambridge, 17, 29, 55, 58, 106, 159, 169.
 Canada, 35, 36, 37, 38, 44, 45, 47, 50, 61, 100, 101, 103, 107, 108, 109, 110, 113.
 Carlor [Kerley], Lieut. Henry, 94.

- Cary, Mathew, 38.
 Casco, Me., 35.
 Casco Bay, 38, 100.
 Caughnawaga, 47, 48, 109, 111.
 Century, a, why celebrated, 11.
 Chamberlain, John, 50.
 Champigny, 96.
 Chaplin, Rev. Daniel, 56, 59, 143.
 Chaplin Schoolhouse (Groton), the, 72, 107.
 Charles I, charters of, 122, 123, 127, 128.
 Charles X., 111.
 Charles River, 14, 126.
 Charlestown, Mass., 32, 58, 169.
 —, N. H., 51.
 Charlevoix, 36, 96, 98.
 Charters of Massachusetts, 122-123, 126, 127, 128, 129.
 Chelmsford, Mass., 33, 42, 44, 122, 135, 136, 169.
 Chicopee Row (Groton), 98, 167.
 Chubbuck, John, 35.
 Clark, Col. Eusebius Silsby, 158.
 Clary, John, 74.
 Clinton, Mass., 148.
 Cobbet, Rev. Thomas, 94.
 Cockermouth. See *Groton, N. H.*
 Coleman, Thomas, 56.
 "Columbian Centinel," the, 60.
 Commission to establish line between Massachusetts and New Hampshire, the, 127-129.
 Common (Groton), the, 62, 156, 157, 172.
 —, the Middle, 72.
 —, the North, 71, 99.
 Concord, Mass., 26, 57, 94, 169.
 —, N. H., 22, 34, 102.
 Connecticut Historical Society, its Collections, 21.
 Connecticut River, 51.
 "Continuation of the Narrative of the Indian Charity School," Wheelock's, 111.
 Cooper, John, 92.
 —, Timothy, 15, 18, 30, 92, 95.
 Corey, Aaron, 59, 60.
 "Cornwallis," a, 147, 148.
 Cortland, N. Y., 143.
 Crispe, Mrs. Benjamin, 103.
 Dana, Samuel, 157.
 —, Rev. Samuel, sketch of, 55-57.
 Dana School (Groton), the, 57.
 Danforth, Jonathan, 17, 18.
 —, Rev. Samuel, 72.
 Davis, Dolor, 18.
 —, John, 42.
 Davis's Fordway, 42.
 Deerfield, Mass., 46.
 Denison, Major-General, 24.
 Dennie, Joseph, 59.
 Desertion of frontier towns, an act to prohibit, 38.
 Detroit, 126.
 Devens, Goodwife, 94.
 Dickinson, James, 156.
 —, Mrs. Sarah, 156.
 —, Thomas, 22.
 Dickson, Walter, 42.
 "Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Canadiennes," 37.
 Division, N. Y., 143.
 Dix family, the, 62.
 "Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York," 34, 41, 101.
 Domesday Book, 19, 20, 138, 164, 165.
 Dorchester, Mass., 14, 169.
 Douglass, Dr. William, his "Summary, Historical and Political," 150.
 Dover, N. H., 100.
 Drew, Thomas, 38.
 Dudley, Gov. Joseph, 45, 123.
 Dunstable, Mass., 25, 34, 49, 50, 130, 133, 167.
 Dunstable highway, the, 71.
 Dupont, Madeleine, 105.
 Durham, N. H., 41, 100, 101.
 Egeremet, 101.
 Eliot's church in Roxbury, 73.
 Emerson, Dearborn, 60.
 —, Rev. Joseph, 131, 154.
 Everett, Edward, 52.
 Exeter, N. H., 39.
 Fairbanks, Lieut. Jabez, 49.
 Fairfield, William, 46.
 Farmer, Daniel, 50.
 Farmers' Row (Groton), 30, 45, 92, 107, 147.
 Farnsworth, Ebenezer, 51.
 —, Elizabeth, 157.
 —, Rev. James D., 100.
 —, Matthias, 44, 45.
 —, name of, 18.
 Farrington, Matthew, 15, 18.
 Farwell, Deacon, 155.
 —, Joseph, his note-book, 155, 156.
 Firelands Historical Society, the, 142.
 First Parish Meeting-house (Groton) the, 154-158, 172. See also *Meeting-house in Groton*.
 Fiske, James, 74, 89, 90, 135, 136.
 —, Rev. John, 135.

- Fitchburg, Mass., 61.
 Flint, George, 61.
 Foot Company, the, 35.
 Fort Dummer, 50, 51.
 Fovel, 111.
 Franklin, Benjamin, 29.
 Franklin County, N. Y., 110.
 Fremont, Ohio, 142.
 French and Indian War, the, 51.
 Frontenac, Count de, 37, 98.
 Fryeburg, Me., 50.
 Fuller, Rev. Arthur Buckminster, 158.
 Fuller, Margaret, 158.
 "Galaxy," the, 48.
 Garrison-houses in Groton, 92.
 George, Horace, 60.
 Gilson, Joseph, 89.
 —, name of, 18.
 —, Mrs. Sarah (Capell), 157.
 Gonvil and Caius College, 73.
 Grant, Goodman, 79.
 Grantham (Groton), 32.
 Greateon, 19.
 Greene, William, 79.
 "Grey Hound" tavern, the (Roxbury), 19.
 Groaten River, Nashua River so called, 21.
 Grotena of Domesday Book, the, 19.
 Groton, Conn., 19, 140, 143, 163.
 Groton, England, 19, 20, 137-139, 163-166, 170.
 Groton, Mass., 143, 153, 158, 159, 169; destroyed by Indians, 12, 22, 30-32, 93-95; township granted, 13, 70, 121-123, 126; petition for plantation, 15-18; first selection of, 18; origin of name, 19, 137, 163-166; various spellings of name, 20; brand-mark of, 21; complaint of improper management by proprietors, 21, 22; disturbed by Indians, 22-26, 41-51, 91-105, 107-113; in Philip's War, 25, 26, 29-33; petition for relief from county charges, 33; social conditions in early days, 33-34; garrison at, 35-36, 48, 49, 95-98; second attack by Indians, 36-40, 95-102; Acadians in, 51; correspondence with Overseers of Boston, 53-54; in the American Revolution, 54-58; connected with Shays's Rebellion, 59; stage lines of, 59-61; taverns in, 60; changes in, 62; meaning of monuments in, 69; early meeting-houses and ministers, 70-91; garrison-houses of, 92; town re-established after Indian attack, 95; character of early settlers, 123-124, 133-136; deprived of territory, 130-133; connected with Deane Winthrop, 137; pronunciation of name, 144; early customs and manners, 144-152; plants of, 150; advance of temperance, 150-151; First Parish Meeting-house, 154-158; distinguished citizens, 170; town seal of, 171.
 Groton, N. H., 19, 140.
 —, N. Y., 19, 143.
 —, Ohio, 141, 142.
 —, S. D., 144.
 —, Vt., 19, 140-141.
 Groton Artillery, the, 148.
 Groton Historical Society, the, 122.
 Groton Inn, the, 157.
 Groton Musical Association, the, 84.
 Groton Place, England, 139.
 Hall, Hon. Isaac Newton, 141.
 Hall brothers, the, 60.
 Hampton, N. H., 127.
 Hampton Falls, N. H., 128.
 Hanover, N. H., 111.
 Hartwell, Dr. Edward Mussey, his letter on name of Groton, 163-166.
 Harvard, Mass., 105, 132, 133, 168.
 Harvard College, 15, 26, 29, 75.
 Haven, Richard, 15.
 Haverhill, Mass., 35.
 Hawkins, Dr. William, 25.
 Hayes, Rutherford B., President of the U. S., 142.
 Healy, Nathaniel, 43.
 Hector. See *Miles, Hezekiah*.
 Henchman, Thomas, 25.
 High School (Groton), the, 70, 92, 156.
 Hill, Sally Morse, 141.
 Hinckly, Thomas, 18.
 "Historical Collections of Massachusetts," Barber's, 172.
 "History of Massachusetts," Hutchinson's, 47, 98, 109.
 "History of New England," Palfrey's, 123.
 "History of New France," Shea's edition, 36, 96.
 "History of St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties, N. Y.," Hough's, 109, 110, 111.
 "History of the Wars of New-England," Penhallow's, 41, 42, 43, 49.
 Hobart, Rev. Gershom, 36, 42, 50, 70, 96, 98; his family, 98.
 —, Gershom, Jr., 98, 99.
 Holden, John, 41.

- Holden, John, Jr., 41.
 —, Richard, 89.
 —, Stephen, 41.
 Hollingsworth Paper-mills, the, 112, 147.
 Hollis, N. H., 133, 168.
 Hollis road, the, 102.
 Holt, John, 61.
 Homer, Rev. Jonathan, 43.
 Homestead Acts, the, 18.
 Hough, Dr. Franklin B., his "History of St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties, N. Y.," 109, 110, 111.
 Hubbard, John, 30, 94.
 —, Rev. William, his account of Indian attack on Groton, 30, 94.
 Hutchinson, Gov. Thomas, his "History of Massachusetts," 47, 98, 109.

 "Indian Roll," the, 70.
 Indian words, list of, 167-168.
 Indians, 13, 69, 71, 107, 110; destroy Groton, 12, 22, 30-32, 93-95; cause disturbances about Groton, 22-26, 29-33, 34, 41-51, 91-105, 107-113; make second attack on Groton, 36-40, 95-98.

 Jacobs, Charles, 147.
 James II, commissions from, 123.
 James's Brook, 92, 105, 147.
 Jenkins, Ann, 101.
 Johnson, Edward, 15; his "Wonder-Working Providence," 15, 73.
 —, Mrs., 51.
 Journals of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, 57.

 Keene, N. H., 157.
 Kennebec Indians, the, 97.
 Kerley, Lieut. Henry, 94.
 Kettle, Goodwife, 94.
 King George's War, 50.
 King William's War, 36, 95.
 Knapp, Elizabeth, 28.
 —, James, 78, 79, 87, 88, 89.
 Knox manuscripts, the, 104.

 Lachine, Canada, 108, 109.
 Lakin, Isaac, 113.
 —, John, 15, 35, 36, 90.
 Lakin, William, 15, 23, 78, 88, 89, 90, 91, 96, 98, 102.
 Lamorandière, Jacques Urbain Robert de, 108.
 Lancaster, Mass., 15, 21, 24, 25, 32, 34, 41, 42, 94, 95, 105, 168, 169.
 Lancaster highway, the, 71.

 Lawrence, Amos, 155.
 —, Enosh, 40, 112.
 —, James, 107.
 —, John, 74.
 —, Joseph, 74.
 —, name of, 18.
 —, Nathaniel, 23, 78, 87, 88, 90.
 —, Peleg, 89.
 Lawrence Academy, 105, 147, 163.
 Lawrence farm, the, 45.
 Le Ber, Jacques, 105.
 Ledyard, William, 19, 140.
 Leverett, Gov. John, 23.
 Littleton, Mass., 133, 163, 168.
 Locke, N. Y., 143.
 Lodowick, Mr., 97.
 Loker, John, 105.
 —, Mary (Draper), 105.
 London, 31, 138.
 Long Melford, England, 138.
 Longley, Betty, 37, 103.
 —, Deliverance (Crisp), 37, 102, 104.
 —, John, 37, 38, 74, 103, 104; his family, 98.
 —, Lydia, 37, 44, 45, 100, 103, 104.
 —, William, 37, 38, 74, 86, 90, 91, 100, 102, 103, 104, 112.
 —, William, Sen., 103.
 Lorette, 111.
 Louisburg, Cape Breton, 131.
 Lovewell, Capt. John, 50.
 Lovewell's fight, 113.
 Lowell, Mass., 61.

 Madocawando, 104.
 "Magnalia Christi Americana," 28, 36, 39, 95, 100.
 Main Street (Groton), 60, 62.
 Maine, 37, 38, 101.
 March, Capt., 102.
 Marcoux, Rev. Francis, 112.
 Maricourt, de, 105.
 Marlboro, Mass., 25.
 Martin, William, 15, 18.
 Martin's Pond road, the, 99.
 Mason, N. H., 130.
 Massachusetts, charters of, 122-123, 126, 127, 128, 129.
 Massachusetts-Bay Colony, list of first established towns in, 169.
 Massachusetts Historical Society, its Proceedings, 43, 58, 97; its Collections, 28, 43, 53, 97.
 Mather, Rev. Cotton, 41; his "Magnalia," 28, 36, 39, 95, 100.
 —, Rev. Increase, 94; his "Brief History," 30.
 Mattapan, Mass., 14.

- Meeting-house in Groton, the first, 70-71, 77-91, 93; the second, 71-72, 84, 107. See also *First Parish Meeting-house*.
- Meriel, 108.
- Merrimack River, 15, 34, 50, 98, 102, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 150, 168.
- Middlesex County, Mass., 13, 25, 57, 59, 159.
- Miles, Hezekiah, 101.
- Miller, Rev. John, 26, 72; sketch of, 73-74.
- , John, Jr., 74.
- , Lydia, 74.
- , Susannah, 74.
- Milwaukee, Wis., 126.
- Monaco, John, 95.
- Monadnock, N. H., 49.
- Montreal, 37, 47, 51, 103, 104, 108.
- Moore, Capt. Jacob, 35.
- Moors, Benjamin, 147.
- , name of, 18.
- Morse, Capt. Edmund, 140, 141.
- , John, 30, 79, 88, 89, 94, 95.
- , Sally (Wesson), 140.
- Moseley, Capt. Samuel, 24.
- Myrick, John, 43.
- Nashaway. See *Lancaster, Mass.*
- Nashua, N. H., 61, 130, 133, 153; meaning of word, 21.
- Nashua River, 21, 49, 112, 131, 133, 167, 168.
- Nashville, Tenn., 142.
- Nassacombêwit, 90.
- Nerigawag. See *Norridgewock*.
- "New and Further Narration of the State of New England," 32.
- New England, early ignorance concerning, 126, 127.
- New England Historic Genealogical Society, the, 100, 104, 121.
- "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," 46; quoted, 15, 19.
- New Hampshire, 50, 60, 61, 127, 128, 129, 130.
- New Ipswich, N. H., 130.
- New London, Conn., 49.
- New Orleans, battle of, 153.
- New York (state), 110.
- Newbury, Mass., 73, 169.
- Newichewanick. See *Berwick, Me.*
- "News from New England," 32.
- Newton, Mass., 43; Homer's "History of," 43.
- Nicholson, Capt. Francis, 34.
- Nonacocus, 35.
- Norfolk County, Mass., 25.
- Norridgewock, 99, 100, 102.
- Northfield, Mass., 150.
- Norwalk, Ohio, 142.
- Notre Dame (Montreal), the Congregation of, 37, 103, 104, 108.
- Nova Scotia, 51, 106.
- Noyes, Capt. Oliver, 45.
- , Thomas, 21.
- Nutting, John, 30, 74, 76, 87, 92, 93, 95, 135, 136.
- , name of, 18.
- , "Widow," 93.
- Old South Church, Boston, 29.
- Oliver, Mary (Wilson), 106.
- , Hon. Thomas, 106.
- Oyster River. See *Durham, N. H.*
- Page, John, 22.
- Paige, John, 35, 87, 91.
- Paine, Robert Treat, 27.
- Palfrey, John G., his "History of New England," 123.
- Parish, Robert, 22.
- Parker, Jacob Lakin, 146.
- , James, 23, 24, 35, 74, 77, 78, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 135, 136.
- , James, Jr., 40, 99, 100, 112; his family, 98.
- , Serg. James, 27.
- , John Warren, 158.
- , Joseph, 21, 89.
- , Josiah, 40, 99.
- , name of, 18, 50.
- , Obadiah, 155.
- , Phinehas, 40.
- Parkman, Francis, 96.
- Partridge, Samuel, 54.
- Pascaud, Etienne, 108.
- Patch, Zara, 157.
- Paugus, 50.
- Peabody Normal College, 142.
- Pemberton, Dr. Ebenezer, 29.
- Pemigewasset River, 128.
- Penacook. See *Concord, N. H.*
- Penhallow, Samuel, his "History of the Wars of New-England," 41, 42, 43, 49.
- Penobscot, 104.
- Penobscot Indians, the, 97.
- Pepperell, Mass., 49, 106, 130, 131, 132, 133, 148, 154, 167, 168.
- Pepperrell, Sir William, 131.
- Pequawket, 50, 113.
- Pescadoué. See *Piscataqua*.
- Petapawage, former name of Groton, 17, 164, 168.
- Petaupauket, 15, 168.
- Philip's War, 25, 26, 29-33, 70, 92, 93.

- Pigwacket. See *Pequawket*.
 Pike, Rev. John, his Journal, 42, 44, 97.
 Piscataqua, 36, 96.
 Pitcairn, Maj. John, 58.
 Pleasant Street (Groton), 60.
 Plymouth Colony, 74; list of first established towns in, 169.
 Pontchartrain, Minister, 96.
 Pope, the, 111.
 Pound (Groton), the, 71.
 Powder House Road, 147.
 Pratt, John, 35.
 Prescott, Abigail (Oliver), 105, 106.
 —, Benjamin, 104, 105, 106.
 —, John, 105.
 —, Jonas, 35, 105, 106.
 —, Mary (Platts), 105.
 —, name of, 18, 50.
 —, Oliver, 53, 57.
 —, William, 106.
 —, Col. William, 54, 55, 105, 106.
 —, Mrs. William, 106.
 —, William Hickling, 106.
 Prince Collection, the, 94.
 "Province Gally," the, 38, 100.
 Quaboag (Brookfield), 24.
 Quebec, 38, 45.
 Queen Anne's War, 47, 48, 109.
 Rawson, Edward, 18, 25, 121, 122.
 Read, John, 46.
 Records of Massachusetts, quoted, 23.
 Remington, Jonathan, 35.
 Revere and Son, 158.
 Revolution, the American, Groton in, 54-58.
 Richardson, Jephthah, 60.
 Ridgway, James, 157.
 Ripley, Rev. Silvanus, 111.
 Rochester, N. Y., 126.
 Rockwood, Mrs. Sarah Chaplin, 143.
 Rogers, Rev. Ezekiel, 73.
 —, William, 47.
 Rome, 111.
 Ross, Charley, 38.
 —, Christian K., 38.
 Rouse, Alexander, 38, 100; his family, 98.
 —, "Tamasin," 38, 100.
 Rowley, Mass., 73, 169.
 Roxbury, Mass., 19, 72, 73, 76, 123, 145, 169.
 St. Edmund, 20.
 St. Francis Indians, 51.
 St. Lawrence River, 109, 110.
 St. Madeleine, Sister. See *Longley, Lydia*.
 St. Regis, 47, 109, 110, 111, 112.
 St. Regis Indians, the, 110.
 Salem, Mass., 46, 54, 169.
 Salisbury, Mass., 128, 169.
 Saltonstall, Gurdon, Governor of Conn., 49.
 Sandusky, Ohio, 143.
 Sawtell, Joseph, 146.
 —, name of, 18.
 —, Richard, 74.
 Seager, Ebenezer, 43.
 —, Henry, Jr., 43.
 Sewall, Judge Samuel, his Diary, 97, 99, 145.
 Shattuck, Elizabeth, 113.
 —, John, 48, 112.
 —, Mrs. John, 113.
 —, John, Jr., 48, 112.
 —, name of, 18.
 —, Ruth, 113.
 Shays's Rebellion, 59.
 Shea's edition of "History of New France," 36, 96.
 Shepley, Hon. Ether, 48, 99.
 —, Gen. George F., 48, 99.
 —, John, 48; his family, 98.
 —, John, Jr., 48, 99, 100, 102.
 —, name of, 50.
 —, Samuel, 15.
 Shepley family, the, 99.
 Sherman, Abigail. See *Willard, Mrs. Samuel*.
 —, Rev. John, 27, 76.
 Shirley, Mass., 132, 133, 167, 168.
 —, Gov. William, 132.
 Shrimpton, Col. Samuel, 97.
 Smith, John, 74.
 —, Thomas, 89.
 Squannacook, 112, 146, 168.
 Stage-coach lines of Groton, 59-61.
 Stamp Act, the, 52.
 State Archives, 121; quoted, 21, 24, 25; cited, 22, 30, 35, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 48, 49, 58, 94, 97, 100, 101, 102.
 Stoddard, Capt. John, 45; his "Journal," 46.
 Stone, Benjamin, 155.
 —, Deacon, 155.
 —, name of, 18.
 —, Simon, 39, 40.
 Stony Fordway, the, 112.
 Stoughton, Gov. William, 41, 101.
 Stow, Mass., 57.
 Sudbury, England, 138.
 —, Mass., 31, 42, 105, 169.
 "Summary, Historical and Political," Douglass's, 150.
 Swan, R. F., 139.
 Syracuse, 126.

- Tanguay, l'Abbé Cyprien, his "Dictionnaire Généalogique," 37.
 Tarbell, Battice, 110.
 —, Eleazer, 111.
 —, Elizabeth (Wood), 107, 108.
 —, John, 44, 45, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 113.
 —, Lessor, 110, 111.
 —, Loran, 110.
 —, Louis, 110.
 —, Mitchell, 110.
 —, name of, 18, 47.
 —, Peter, 110.
 —, Capt. Samuel, 155.
 —, Sarah, 44, 45, 107, 108, 113.
 —, Thomas, 45, 50, 89.
 —, Thomas (Indian), 110.
 —, Thomas, Jr., 22, 45, 46, 47, 74, 88, 107, 108, 110, 168.
 —, Zechariah, 44, 45, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 113.
 Taverns in Groton, 60.
 Taxous, 36, 96, 97, 98.
 Taylor, Col. William, 44.
 —, Lieut. Joseph, 111.
 Telegraph, the, influence of, 153.
 Telegraph and Despatch Line, the, 61.
 Telephone, 153.
 Temperance, advance of, 150-151.
 Temple, N. H., 55.
 Thacher, Rev. Thomas, 29.
 Thames River, Conn., 140.
 Tinker, John, 18.
 Tiverton, R. I., 46.
 Tohaunto, Indian chief, 22.
 Torakaron, Joseph, 111.
 Torrey, William, 18, 121.
 Town incorporation, 14, 120, 121.
 Towns, Massachusetts, list of first established, 169.
 Townsend, Mass., 130, 131.
 Trimountaine, 14.
 Trowbridge, Rev. Caleb, 156.
 "True Account of the most Considerable Occurrences," etc., 31.
 Tyng, Edward, 27.
 —, Eunice, 27.
 Union and Accommodation Line, the, 60.
 "Useful Instructions," Willard's, 27, 81-83.
 Usher, Hezekiah, 35.
 Vermont, 60, 61.
 Villieu, 97.
 Virginia, 73.
 Wade, Maj. Nathaniel, 35.
 Waldron, Richard, 22.
 Waltham, Mass., 15.
 Ward, Gen. Artemas, 107.
 Warumbee, 101.
 Watertown, Mass., 14, 27, 76, 132, 169.
 Waubansconcect, 15.
 Webster, Rev. Samuel, 55.
 Wells, Thomas, 46.
 Wells River, Vt., 141.
 Wenham, Mass., 46.
 West Groton. See *Squannacook*.
 Westford, Mass., 122, 133, 167, 168.
 Weston Hall, England, 92.
 Wheatsborough. See *Groton, Ohio*.
 Wheelock, Eleazer, his "Continuation of the Narrative of the Indian Charity School," 111.
 Wheelock's, I. & S., 60.
 White, Corporal, 35.
 Whitney, Joshua, 79.
 Wilder, Lieut., 41.
 Willard, Col. Josiah, 51.
 —, Miriam, 51.
 —, Moses, 51.
 —, Rev. Samuel, 31, 51, 70, 92; sketch of life, 26-29; his pastorate in Groton, 74-91; his "Useful Instructions," 27, 81-83.
 —, Mrs. Samuel, 27, 76, 80.
 —, Sarah, 97.
 —, Major Simon, 24, 25, 26, 32, 90.
 William and Mary, charters of, 123, 128.
 Williams, John, 45.
 Winnepesauke River, 128.
 Winthrop, Mass., 137.
 —, Deane, 17, 19, 137, 164.
 —, Gov. Fitz-John, 137, 140.
 —, Gov. John, 19, 137, 139, 164.
 —, Robert C., 139; letter from, 137.
 Witchcraft in Groton, 28.
 Witt, John, 15, 18.
 Woburn, Mass., 73.
 "Wonder-Working Providence," Johnson's, 15, 73.
 Woods, Eber, 92.
 —, Lieut. Isaac, 155.
 —, Lieut. John, 155.
 —, Samuel, 74, 78.
 Woolley, Charles, 15, 121.
 Worcester, Mass., 61.
 Wright, Elizur, 151.
 Yarmouth, Mass., 72, 74, 169.

